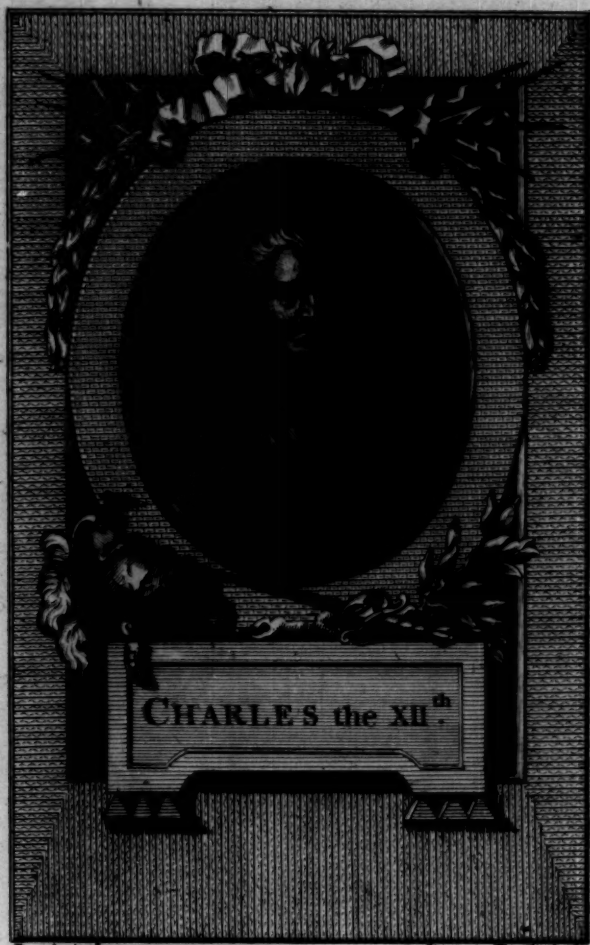


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THE
HISTORY
OF
CHARLES the XIIth,
KING OF SWEDEN.

TRANSLATED FROM THE LAST GENEVA EDITION OF

M. DE VOLTAIRE,

By W. S. KENRICK.

To which is added, the

LIFE of PETER the Great.

TRANSLATED

By J. JOHNSON, M. A.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR FIELDING AND WALKER,
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MDCCLXXXII

THE
HISTORICAL
OF
CHARLES the XIIth.
KING of SWEDEN.

BOOK I.
A R G U M E N T.

An Abridgement of the History of Sweden, to the Reign of Charles the 12th.—His Education.—His Enemies.—The Character of Czar Peter Alexiowitz.—Curious Anecdotes, relative to that Prince and the Russian Nation.—Muscovy, Poland, and Denmark unite against Charles the 12th.

SWEDEN and Finland constitute a kingdom about two hundred French leagues in breadth, and three hundred in length. It extends nearly from the fifty-fifth to the seventieth degree of north latitude, under a severe climate, that hath hardly either spring or autumn. Winter prevails there nine months of the year: the heat of summer immediately succeeding to the winter's excessive cold; it beginning to freeze in the month of October, without any of those insensible gradations, which in other countries harbinger in the seasons, and render the variation the more pleasing. Nature, as a compensation, however, has given to this severe climate a serene sky, and a pure air. The almost continual heat of the summer's sun, produces flowers and fruits in a short time. The tediousness of
B the

the long winter-nights is alleviated by the morning and evening twilights, which last in proportion as the sun is more or less removed from Sweden. At the same time the brightness of the moon, which is not obscured by clouds, but encreased by the reflection of the snow lying upon the earth, and frequently by the northern lights, renders it as convenient to travel in Sweden by night as by day. The cattle are in this country, through want of pasturage, smaller than those of the more southern parts of Europe. The people are large of stature, the serenity of the sky conducing to their health, as the rigour of the climate does to their strength; living to a great age, when not debilitated by the immoderate use of wine and strong liquors; which the northern nations seem to be the more immoderately fond of in proportion as they are exotic to the climate.

The Swedes in particular are well made, robust, active, and capable of sustaining the greatest fatigue, hunger, and penury; bred soldiers, high spirited, and more daring than industrious, they have long neglected, and even to this day but badly cultivate, the arts of commerce, which only can supply them with the produce of other countries. It is said to be principally from Sweden, of which one part is still named Gothland, that issued forth those multitudes of Goths, who, like an inundation, overwhelmed Europe, and rent it from the Roman empire; which had for five hundred years subjected it by usurpation, harrassed it by its tyranny, and governed it by its laws.

The northern countries were at that time much more populous than at present; not only from their religion affording the inhabitants an opportunity of furnishing the state with a greater number of subjects, by the possession of a plurality of wives; but that the women themselves knew no reproach like that of sterility and idleness: being also as laborious and robust as the men, they arrived sooner at the age of puberty, and continued longer fruitful. And yet Sweden, with that part of Finland which still belongs to it, contains not above four millions of inhabitants. The soil is poor and
barren,

barren; Schonen being the only province that bears wheat. The currency of the whole kingdom does not amount to more than nine millions of French livres; even the public bank, the most ancient in Europe, having been first introduced through necessity; their payments, being made in copper and iron money, which are attended with much difficulty of carriage.

Sweden preserved its liberty till the middle of the fourteenth century: for though during so long a period, there happened more than one revolution in government, such revolutions turned out constantly in favour of freedom. To its chief magistrate was given the name of King, a title, that in different countries has very different degrees of power annexed to it. In France and Spain it signifies an absolute monarch; in Poland, Sweden, and England, the head of the commonwealth. The king of Sweden could do nothing without the senate; and the senate depended upon the states-general, which were often convened. The representatives of the nation in these numerous assemblies, were the gentry, bishops and deputies of the towns; and, in process of time, the peasantry, a class of people unjustly slighted in other nations, and enslaved in almost all the countries of the north.

About the year 1492, this nation, though jealous of its liberty, and boasting even to this day of having conquered Rome thirteen centuries ago, was reduced to slavery by a woman, and a people less powerful than themselves.

Margaret of Valdemar, the Semiramis of the North, Queen of Denmark and Norway, joining address to force, conquered Sweden, and formed these three great states into one kingdom. After her decease, the country was distracted by civil wars; throwing off and submitting again to the Danish yoke, under the alternate administration of kings and popular protectors. Two of these tyrants oppressed them terribly about the year 1520. The one, Christian the Second, king of Denmark, a monster in vice, without one compensating virtue; the other an archbishop of Upsal, primate

of the kingdom, equally barbarous with King Christian. These two, in concert, caused the consuls and magistrates of Stockholm, together with ninety-four senators, to be seized in one day, and massacred by the common executioners, under the pretext, that they were excommunicated by the Pope, for having maintained the interests of the state against those of the church.

While these men, agreeing as to the means of oppression, and differing only in dividing the spoil, were committing acts of the greatest cruelty, and exercising the most tyrannical despotism, a singular as novel event gave a turn to the affairs of the North.

Gustavus Vasa, a youth descended from the ancient kings of Sweden, issued forth from amidst the forests of Dalecarlia, where he had lain concealed, in order to deliver his country from slavery. He had one of those great souls which nature so seldom forms, possessed of all the qualities necessary to govern mankind. The advantages of a fine person, and a noble mien, prepossessioned every one in his favour, so that he gained partizans wherever he appeared. His eloquence, to which his engaging deportment gave peculiar force, was the more persuasive as it was artless and simple. His enterprising genius formed those projects, which to the vulgar appear rash, but are imputed to a noble daring, by great minds; and these his courage and perseverance enabled him to accomplish. Intrepid, yet prudent, of a gentle disposition in a ferocious age, he was, in short, as virtuous as it is supposed the head of a party can possibly be.

Gustavus had been the hostage of Christian, and had been detained a prisoner contrary to the law of nations. Having escaped from prison, he had disguised himself in the habit of a peasant, and wandered about in the mountains and woods of Dalecarlia; where he was reduced to the necessity of working in the copper-mines, for subsistence and concealment. Buried, as he was, in these subterraneous caverns, he had the courage to form the design of dethroning the tyrant. To this end he discovered himself to the peasants, who
looked

looked upon him as one of that superior order of beings, to which common men owe a natural submission. These servile savages he soon converted into soldiers. He attacked Christian and the Archbishop, repeatedly defeated them, banished them from Sweden, and, at last, was deservedly chosen by the states king of that country, of which he had been a deliverer.

He was hardly established on the throne, when he undertook an enterprize still more difficult than conquest. The real tyrants of the state were the bishops, who having engrossed almost all the wealth of the kingdom, made use of it to oppress the subjects, and make war upon the king. Their power was the more formidable, as popular ignorance held it to be sacred. On the catholic religion, therefore, Gustavus revenged the criminality of its ministers. So that in less than two years, Lutheranism was introduced into Sweden, and that rather by the arts of policy, than by the influence of authority. Having thus conquered the kingdom, as he used to express it, from the Danes and the clergy, he reigned a successful and absolute monarch to the age of seventy, when he died full of glory; leaving his family and religion in peaceable possession of the throne.

Gustavus Adolphus was one of his descendants, commonly called the great Gustavus. This prince made a conquest of Ingria, Livonia, Bremen, Verden, Wismar, and Pomerania, besides above a hundred places in Germany, which, after his death, were yielded up by the Swedes. He shook the throne of Ferdinand the Second, and protected the Lutherans in Germany, in which he was secretly assisted by the see of Rome, who dreaded the power of the emperor much more than that of heresy. It was this Gustavus, who, by his victories, contributed in fact to humble the house of Austria; although the glory of that enterprize is usually ascribed entirely to Cardinal de Richelieu, who well knew how to procure himself the reputation of those great actions, which Gustavus was content with performing. He was on the point of extending the

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war beyond the Danube, and perhaps of dethroning the emperor, when he was killed, in the thirty-seventh year of his age, at the battle of Lutzden; which he gained over Wallstein, carrying with him to his grave the name of Great, lamented by the people of the north, and respected even by his enemies.

His daughter Christina, a woman of uncommon genius, was much fonder of conversing with men of letters, than of reigning over a people, whose knowledge was confined to the art of war. She rendered herself as famous for resigning a throne, as her ancestors had been for obtaining or establishing it. The protestants have aspersed her character, as if it were impossible for a person to be possessed of great virtues without adhering to Luther; while the papists have triumphed too much on the conversion of a woman, who was a mere pretender to philosophy. She retired to Rome, where she passed the remainder of her days in the midst of the arts she was fond of, and for which she had renounced a kingdom, at twenty-seven years of age.

Before her abdication, she prevailed on the States of Sweden to elect her cousin, Charles Gustavus X. son to the count Palatine, and duke of Deux-Ponts, to succeed to the crown. This prince added new conquests to those of Gustavus Adolphus; carrying immediately his arms into Poland, where he gained the famous battle of Warsaw, which lasted three days. He waged a long and successful war with the Danes; besieged their capital; re-united Schonen to Sweden; and confirmed, at least for a time, the duke of Holstein in the possession of Sleswick. Experiencing afterwards a reverse of fortune, he concluded a peace with his enemies, and turned his ambition against his subjects. Thus he formed the design of establishing a despotic government in Sweden, but, like Gustavus the Great, died in the thirty-seventh year of his age, before he had completed his despotic designs, which his son Charles XI. put most effectually in execution.

Charles XI. a warrior, like his ancestors, was more despotic than any of them. He abolished the authority

rity of the senate, which was declared the senate of the king, and not of the kingdom. He was prudent, vigilant, indefatigable; which would have made him beloved by his subjects, had not his despotic spirit converted their love into fear.

In 1680, he married Ulrica Eleonora, daughter to Frederick III. king of Denmark, a princess of great virtues, and worthy of greater confidence than her husband reposed in her. Of this marriage, on the 27th of June, 1682, was born king Charles XII. the most extraordinary man, perhaps, that ever appeared in the world. In him were united all the great qualities of his ancestors; nor had he any other fault or misfortune but that he carried all these virtues to excess. This is the prince whose genuine and authentic history we now purpose to write.

The first book he was set to read was Puffendorff's Introduction to the History of Europe, in order to give him an early knowledge of his own, and the neighbouring states. The first foreign language taught him was the German; which he continued ever after to speak with the same fluency as his mother-tongue. At seven years of age he was a proficient in horsemanship; when the violent exercises in which he delighted, and which discovered his martial turn, soon procured him a vigorous constitution, capable to support the fatigues to which his natural inclination prompted him.

Though good-natured in his infancy, he betrayed an inflexible obstinacy. The only way to influence him, was to awaken his sense of honour; at the sound of the word glory, he gave up every thing. He had an aversion to Latin; but as soon as he heard that the kings of Poland and Denmark understood it, he learned it presently, and retained so much of it, as to be able to speak it all the rest of his life. The same means were employed to engage him to learn the French; but he persisted, as long as he lived, in the disuse of that tongue, which he would not speak, even to the French ambassadors themselves, though they understood no other.

As soon as he had acquired a little knowledge of the Latin, his teacher made him translate Quintus Curtius; a book to which he was attached, still more on account of the subject than the stile. The preceptor, who explained this author to him, asking him, one day, what he thought of Alexander: "I think (said the prince) I could wish to resemble him." "But (resumed the preceptor) he lived only two and thirty years." "And is not that enough (replied he) for one who was the conqueror of kingdoms?" The courtiers did not fail to report these answers to the king his father, who exclaimed, "This boy will surpass his father, and even Gustavus the Great." Amusing himself one day in the royal apartments, in viewing two plans; the one of a town in Hungary, which the Turks had taken from the emperor; the other of Riga, the capital of Livonia, a province conquered by the Swedes, about a century before. Under the plan of the town in Hungary were written these words, taken from the book of Job: "The Lord hath given it me, and the Lord hath taken it from me; blessed be the name of the Lord." The young prince having read this inscription, immediately took a pencil, and wrote under the plan of Riga, "The Lord hath given it to me, and the devil shall not take it from me." Thus, in the most indifferent actions of his childhood, his unconquerable spirit would frequently discover the characteristic traces of an uncommon genius, which plainly indicated what he would one day prove.

He was eleven years of age when he lost his mother; who died on the fifth of August, 1693, of a disease, as was supposed, owing to the bad usage she had received from her husband, and to her endeavours to conceal her chagrin. Charles XI. had, by means of a certain court of justice, called the Chamber of Liquidations, erected by his sole authority, deprived a great number of his subjects of their wealth. Crouds of citizens ruined by this chamber, nobility, merchants, farmers, widows, and orphans, filled the streets of Stockholm, and daily repaired to the gate of the palace, to vent their un-
availing

availing complaints. The queen relieved these unhappy people, as much as lay in her power; she gave them her money, her jewels, her furniture, and even her cloaths: and when she had no more to give them, she threw herself in tears at her husband's feet, beseeching him to have pity on his subjects. The king gravely answered her, "Madam, we took you to bring us children, not to give us advice." And from that time he treated her with a severity that is said to have shortened her days.

He died four years after her, on the fifteenth of April, 1697, in the forty-second year of his age, and the thirty-seventh of his reign, at a time when the Empire, Spain, and Holland, on one side, and France on the other, had referred the decision of their quarrels to his arbitration, and when he had already settled the preliminaries of accommodation between these powers.

He left his son, who was then fifteen years of age, a throne well established at home, and respected abroad; subjects poor indeed, but warlike and loyal; with finances in good order, and under the management of able ministers.

Charles XII. at his accession to the throne, found himself not only the absolute and undisturbed master of Sweden and Finland, but also of Livonia, Carelia, Ingria, Wismar, Vibourg, the islands of Rugen, and Oesel, and the finest part of Pomerania, together with the duchy of Bremen and Verden, all of them the conquests of his ancestors, secured to the crown by long possession, and by the solemn treaties of Munster and Oliva, and supported by the terror of the Swedish arms. The peace of Ryswick, begun under the auspices of his father, being concluded under those of the son, he found himself the mediator of Europe, at the commencement of his reign.

The laws of Sweden fix the majority of their kings at the age of fifteen; but Charles XI. who was entirely absolute, deferred by his last will the majority of his son to the age of eighteen. In this he favoured the ambitious views of his mother Edwiga-Elconora, of Holstein,

Holstein, dowager of Charles X, who was appointed by the king her son, tutoreſs to the young king her grandſon, and regent of the kingdom, in conjunction with a council of five perſons.

The regent had a ſhare in the management of public affairs during the reign of her ſon. She was now advanced in years; but her ambition, which was greater than her genius, prompted her to entertain the hopes of poſſeſſing authority for a long time, under the king her grandſon. Keeping him at as great a diſtance as poſſible from affairs of ſtate, the young prince paſſed his time either in hunting or in reviewing his troops, and would even ſometimes exerciſe with them; which amuſement ſeemed only to be the natural effect of his youthful vivacity. He never betrayed any diſſatisfaction ſufficient to alarm the regent, who flattered herſelf that the diſſipation of mind occaſioned by theſe diſſerſions would render him incapable of application, and leave her the longer in poſſeſſion of the regal power.

One day in the month of November, in the ſame year his father died, having taken a review of ſeveral regiments, as Piper, the counſellor of ſtate, was ſtanding by him, he ſeemed to be abſorbed in a profound reverie. "May I take the liberty (ſaid Piper to him) of asking your majeſty what you are thinking of ſo ſeriouſly?" "I am thinking (replied the prince) that I am capable of commanding theſe brave fellows; and I don't like that either they or I ſhould any longer receive orders from a woman." Piper immediately ſeized this opportunity of making his fortune; but conſcious that his own intereſt was not ſufficient for the execution of ſuch a dangerous enterprize, as the removal of the queen from the regency, and the haſtening of the king's majority, he propoſed the affair to count Axel Sparre, a man of a daring ſpirit, and ambitious of popularity. On being flattered with the confidence of the king, Sparre entered into his meaſures, and undertook the management of the whole buſineſs, while he was working only to promote the

the interest of Piper. The counsellors of the regency were soon brought over to the scheme, and precipitated the execution of it, in order to recommend themselves the more effectually to the king.

They went in a body to propose it to the queen, who by no means expected such a declaration: and as the states-general were assembled, proposed the matter to that assembly, who, one and all, approved of the proposal. The point was carried with a rapidity that nothing could withstand; so that Charles XII. had only to signify his desire of reigning, and, in three days, the states bestowed the government upon him. The power and credit of the queen sunk in an instant, reducing her to a life of retirement, more suitable to her age, though less agreeable to her temper. The king was crowned on the twenty-fourth of December following, on which he made his entry into Stockholm, on a sorrel horse, shod with silver, having a sceptre in his hand, and a crown upon his head, amidst the acclamations of a whole people, fond of novelty, and conceiving always great hopes from a young prince.

The ceremony of the consecration and coronation belongs to the archbishop of Upsal; almost the only privilege that remains to him of the great number that were enjoyed by his predecessors. After having anointed the prince, according to custom, he held the crown in his hand, in order to put it upon his head: when Charles snatched it from him, and crowned himself, regarding the poor prelate all the while with a stern look. The multitude, who are always dazzled by every thing that has an air of grandeur, applauded this action of the king. Even those who had groaned most severely under the tyranny of the father, were foolish enough to commend the son for this instance of arrogance, which was a presage of their future slavery.

Charles was no sooner master of the kingdom, than he made Piper his chief confidant, entrusting him at the same time with the management of public affairs, making him prime minister, though without the name. A few days after he created him a count, which is a dignity

dignity of great eminence in Sweden, and not an empty title, that may be assumed without any importance, as in France.

The beginning of the king's reign gave no very favourable idea of his character; so that it was imagined he had been more impatient to reign than worthy of it. He cherished indeed no dangerous passion; but his conduct discovered nothing but the fallies of youth, and the freaks of obstinacy. He seemed to be equally haughty and indolent. The ambassadors who resided at his court, took him even for a person of mean capacity, and represented him as such to their respective masters. The Swedes entertained the same opinion of him: nobody knew his real character: he did not even know it himself, until the storm that suddenly arose in the north gave him an opportunity of displaying his concealed talents.

Three powerful princes, taking the advantage of his youth, conspired, almost at the same time, to effect his ruin. The first was Frederick IV. king of Denmark, his cousin: the second was Augustus, elector of Saxony, and king of Poland; Peter the Great, czar of Muscovy, was the third, and the most dangerous. It is necessary to unfold the origin of these wars, which produced such great events. To begin with Denmark.

Of the two sisters of Charles XII. the eldest was married to the duke of Holstein, a young prince of an undaunted spirit, and of a gentle disposition. The duke, oppressed by the king of Denmark, repaired to Stockholm, with his spouse, and throwing himself into the arms of the king, earnestly implored his assistance; not only on account of being his brother-in-law, but as he was likewise the king of a people who bore an irreconcilable hatred to the Danes.

The ancient house of Holstein, dissolved into that of Oldenburg, had been advanced by election to the throne of Denmark in 1449. All the kingdoms of the north were at that time elective; though the kingdom of Denmark soon after became hereditary. One of its kings, called Christiern III. had such an affection for his brother

Adolphus,

Adolphus, or, at least, such a regard for his interest, as is rarely met with among princes. He was unwilling to see him destitute of sovereign power, and yet he could not dismember his own dominions. He therefore divided with him the duchies of Holstein-Gottorp, and Sleswick, by a whimsical kind of agreement, which was, that the descendants of Adolphus should ever after govern Holstein, in conjunction with the kings of Denmark; that those two duchies should belong to both in common; and that the king of Denmark should be able to do nothing in Holstein without the duke, nor the duke without the king. So strange a union, of which, however, there has been within these few years a similar instance in the same family, was, for near the space of eighty years, the source of perpetual disputes between the crown of Denmark and the house of Holstein-Gottorp; the kings always endeavouring to oppress the dukes, and the dukes to render themselves independant of the kings. A struggle of this nature had cost the last duke his liberty and sovereignty; both which, however, he recovered at the conferences of Altena, in 1689, by the interposition of Sweden, England, and Holland, who became guarantees for the execution of the treaty. But as a treaty between princes is frequently no more than a submission to necessity, till the stronger shall be able to crush the weaker, the contest was revived with greater virulence than ever between the new king of Denmark and the young duke: during whose absence at Stockholm, the Danes had committed some acts of hostility in the country of Holstein, and had entered into a secret agreement with the king of Poland, to crush the king of Sweden himself.

Frederick Augustus, elector of Saxony, whom neither the eloquence nor negotiations of the Abbé de Polignac, nor the great qualities of the prince of Conti, his competitor for the throne, had been able to prevent from being chosen king of Poland about two years before, was a prince still less remarkable for his incredible strength of body, than for his bravery and gallantry
of

of mind. His court was, next to that of Lewis XIV. the most splendid of any in Europe. Never was prince more generous or munificent, or bestowed his favours with a better grace. He had purchased the votes of one half of the Polish nobility, and over-awed the other by the approach of a Saxon army. Thinking he should have occasion for his troops, in order to establish himself the more firmly on the throne, he wanted a pretext for retaining them in Poland; he therefore resolved to employ them in attacking the king of Sweden, which he did, on the following occasion.

Livonia, the most beautiful and the most fruitful province of the north, belonged formerly to the knights of the Teutonic order. The Russians, the Poles, and the Swedes, had disputed the possession of it. The Swedes had carried it about an hundred years ago; and it had been formerly ceded to them, by the peace of Oliva.

The late king Charles XI. amidst his severities to his subjects in general, had not spared the Livonians. He had stripped them of their privileges, and of part of their patrimonies. Patkul, unhappily famous for his tragical death, was deputed by the nobility of Livonia to carry to the throne the complaints of the province. He addressed his master in a speech, respectful indeed, but bold, and full of that manly eloquence, which calamity, when joined to courage, inspires. But kings too frequently consider these public addresses as no more than vain ceremonies, which it is customary to suffer, without paying them any regard; Charles XI. however, who could play the hypocrite extremely well, when he was not transported by the violence of his passion, gently struck Patkul on the shoulder. "You have spoke for your country," (said he) like a brave man, and I esteem you for it; "go on." Notwithstanding, in a few days after, he caused him to be declared guilty of high-treason, and, as such, to be condemned. Patkul, who had secreted himself, made his escape, and carried his resentment with him to Poland; where he was afterwards admitted

admitted into the presence of king Augustus. Charles XI. was now dead; but Patkul's sentence was still in force, and his indignation still unabated. He represented to his Polish majesty the facility of conquering Livonia, the people of which were provoked to despair, and ready to throw off the Swedish yoke; at the same time that their king was a child, and incapable of making any defence. These representations were well received by a prince, already desirous of making so great a conquest. Augustus had engaged, at his coronation, to exert his utmost efforts to recover the provinces which Poland had lost; and he imagined, that, by making an irruption into Livonia, he should at once please the people, and establish his own power; in both which particulars, however plausible, he at last found himself disappointed. Every thing was soon got ready for a sudden invasion, which he resolved to make without having recourse to the vain formalities of declarations of war and manifestoes. The storm thickened at the same time on the side of Muscovy. The monarch who governed that empire deserves the attention of posterity.

Peter Alexiowitz, czar of Russia, had already made himself formidable by the battle he had gained over the Turks in 1697, and by the reduction of Asoph, which opened to him the dominion of the Black Sea. But it was by actions still more glorious than his victories, that he aspired to the name of Great. Muscovy, or Russia, comprehends the northern parts of Asia and of Europe, extending from the frontiers of China for the space of fifteen hundred leagues, to the borders of Poland and Sweden. This immense country, however, was hardly known to Europe, before the time of czar Peter. The Muscovites were less civilized than the Mexicans, when discovered by Cortes: born the slaves of masters as barbarous as themselves, they remained in a state of ignorance, in want of all the arts, and in such an insensibility of that want, as suppressed every motive to industry. An ancient law, which they held as sacred, forbid them, under pain of death, to leave

leave their native country without permission of their patriarch. This law, enacted with a view to preclude them from all opportunities of becoming sensible of their slavery, was yet acceptable to a people, who, in the depth of their ignorance and misery, disdained all commerce with foreign nations.

The æra of the Muscovites bears date from the creation of the world: since which they conceive 7207 years were elapsed, at the beginning of the last century, without being able to assign any reason for this computation. The first day of their year answered to the thirteenth of September, new style. The reason alledged for this regulation is, that it is most probable God created the world in autumn, the season when the fruits of the earth are in their full maturity. Thus, the only appearance of knowledge which they had, was founded in gross error; not one of them ever dreamed that the autumn of Muscovy might possibly be the spring of another country, situated in an opposite climate. Nor is it long since the people at Moscow were going to burn the secretary of a Persian ambassador, who had foretold an eclipse of the sun. They did not so much as know the use of figures; but in all their computations made use of little beads, strung upon brass-wires. They had no other manner of reckoning in their computing-houses, not even in the royal treasury.

Their religion was, and still is, that of the Greek church, intermixed with many superstitious rites, to which they are the more strongly attached, in proportion as they are the more extravagant, and their burthen the more intolerable. Few Muscovites would dare to eat a pigeon, because the Holy Ghost is painted in the form of a dove. They regularly observed four Lents in the year; during which times of abstinence, they never presumed to eat either eggs or milk. God and St. Nicholas were the objects of their worship, and next to them the czar and the patriarch. The authority of the last was as unbounded as the ignorance of the people. He pronounced sentence of death, and inflicted

inflicted the most cruel punishments, without any possibility of an appeal from his tribunal. He made a solemn procession twice a year on horse-back, attended by all his clergy. The czar, on foot, held the bridle of his horse, and the people prostrated themselves before him in the streets, as the Tartars do before their grand lama. Confession was in use among them; but it was only in cases of the greatest crimes. In these absolution was necessary, but not repentance. They thought themselves pure in the sight of God, as soon as they received the benediction of their papas. Thus they passed, without remorse, from confession to theft and murder; and what among other christians is a restraint from vice, with them was an encouragement to wickedness. They would not even venture to drink milk on a fast; although on a festival, masters of families, priests, married women, and maids, would make no scruple to intoxicate themselves with brandy. There were religious disputes, however, among them, as well as in other countries; but their greatest controversy was, whether lay-men should make the sign of the cross with two fingers or with three. One Jacob Nursoff, in the preceding reign, had raised a sedition in Astracan, on the subject of this dispute. There were even some fanatics among them, as there are in those civilized nations where every one is a theologue; and Peter, who always carried justice into cruelty, caused some of these unhappy wretches, called Vosko-jesuits, to be committed to the flames.

The czar, in his extensive empire, had many other subjects, who were not christians. The Tartars, inhabiting the western coasts of the Caspian Sea, and the Palus Mæotis, are Mahometans; the Siberians, the Ostiacks, and the Samoides, who lie towards the frozen sea, were savages, some of whom were idolaters, and others had not even the knowledge of a God; and yet the Swedes, who were sent prisoners among them, were better pleased with their manners than with those of the ancient Muscovites.

Peter Alexiowitz had received an education that tended still more to encrease the barbarism of this part of the world. His natural disposition led him to caress strangers, before he knew what advantages he might derive from their acquaintance. Le Fort, as hath been already observed, was the first instrument he employed to change the face of affairs in Muscovy. His powerful genius, which a barbarous education had hitherto checked, but not destroyed, broke forth almost at once. He resolved to be a man, to command men, and to create a new nation. Many princes, disgusted with the burthen of public affairs, have, before him, renounced their crown, but no prince had ever before divested himself of royalty, in order to learn how to reign: this did Peter the Great.

He left Muscovy in 1698, having reigned but two years, and went to Holland, disguised under a common name, as if he had been a domestic servant of the same Mr. le Fort, whom he sent in quality of ambassador extraordinary to the states-general. As soon as he arrived at Amsterdam, he enrolled his name among the ship-wrights of the India company's wharf, and worked in the yard like the other mechanics. At his leisure hours he learned such parts of the mathematics as are useful to a prince, fortification, navigation, and the art of drawing plans. He went into the workmens shops, and examined all their manufactures; in which nothing could escape his observation. From thence he went over to England, where having perfected himself in the art of ship-building, he returned to Holland, carefully observing every thing that might turn to the advantage of his own country. At length, after two years of travel and labour, to which no man but himself would have willingly submitted, he again made his appearance in Muscovy, with all the arts of Europe in his train. Artists of every kind followed him in crowds. Then were seen, for the first time, large Russian ships in the Baltic, and on the Black Sea and the ocean. Stately buildings, of a regular architecture, were raised among the Russian huts. He founded colleges,

leges, academies, printing-houses, and libraries. The cities were brought under a regular police. The cloaths and customs of the people were gradually changed, though not without some difficulty; and the Muscovites learned by degrees the true nature of a social state. Even their superstitious rites were abolished; the dignity of the patriarch was suppressed; and the czar declared himself the head of the church. This last enterprize, which would have cost a prince less absolute than Peter both his throne and his life, succeeded almost without opposition, and insured to him the success of his other innovations.

After having humbled an ignorant and a barbarous clergy, he ventured to make a trial of instructing them, though by that means he ran the risque of rendering them formidable; but he was too sensible of his own power to entertain any fear of it. He caused philosophy and theology to be taught in the few monasteries that still remained. True it is, this theology still favours of that barbarous period in which Peter civilized his people. A person of undoubted veracity assured me, that he was present at a public disputation, where the point of controversy was, whether the practice of smoking tobacco was a sin? The respondent maintained that it was lawful to get drunk with brandy, but not to smoke, because the holy scripture saith, "That which proceedeth out of the mouth defileth a man, and that which entereth into it doth not defile him."

The monks were not pleased with this reformation. The czar had hardly erected printing-houses, when they made use of them to publish declamations against him; one of them declaring in print that Peter was antichrist; for that he deprived the living of their beards, and allowed the dead to be dissected in his academy. But another monk, who aimed at promotion, refuted this book, and proved that Peter could not be antichrist, because the number 666 was not to be found in his name. The libeller was accordingly broke upon the wheel, and the author of the refutation was made bishop of Rezan.

This reformer of Muscovy enacted in particular a very salutary law, the want of which reflects disgrace on many civilized nations. This enacted that no man engaged in the service of the state, no citizen established in trade, and especially no minor, should retire into a convent.

Peter knew of what infinite consequence it was to prevent useful subjects from consecrating themselves to idleness, and to hinder young people from disposing of their liberty at an age when they are incapable of disposing of the least part of their patrimony. But this law, though calculated for the general interest of mankind, is daily eluded by the industry of the monks; as if they were in fact gainers by peopling their convents at the expence of their country.

The czar not only subjected the church to the state, after the example of the Turkish emperors, but, by a more masterly stroke of policy, dissolved a militia similar to that of the jannissaries: and accomplished in a short time what the sultans had long in vain attempted. He disbanded the Russian jannissaries, who were called *strelits*, and kept the czars in subjection. This body of soldiery, more formidable to their masters than to their neighbours, consisted of about thirty thousand foot, one half of which remained at Moscow, while the other was stationed upon the frontiers. The pay of a *strelit* was no more than four roubles a year; but this deficiency was amply compensated by privileges and extortions. Peter formed at first a company of foreigners, among whom he enrolled his own name, and did not think it beneath his dignity to begin the service in the capacity of a drummer, and to perform the duties of that mean office; so much did the nation stand in need of examples! By degrees he became an officer. He gradually raised new regiments; and, at last, finding himself master of a well-disciplined army, he broke the *strelits*, who durst not disobey him.

The cavalry were nearly the same with that of Poland, or what the French formerly was, when the kingdom of France was no more than an assemblage of fiefs. The Russian gentlemen were mounted at their own expence,
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and fought without discipline, and sometimes with no other arms than a sabre or a bow, incapable of command, and consequently of conquest.

Peter the great taught them to obey, both by the example he set, and the punishment he inflicted; for he served in the quality of a soldier and subaltern officer, and as czar he severely punished the boyards, that is, the gentlemen, who pretended that it was the privilege of their order not to serve but by their own consent. He established a regular body to serve the artillery, and took five hundred bells from the churches to be converted into cannon; of which, in the year 1714, he had cast thirteen thousand pieces. He likewise formed companies of dragoons, troops very suitable to the genius of the Muscovites, and to the size of their horses, which are small. In 1738 the Russians had thirty regiments of these dragoons, consisting of a thousand men each, well disciplined and accoutred. He likewise established the Russian hussars; and had even a school of engineers, in a country where, before his time, no one understood the elements of geometry. He was himself a good engineer; but his chief excellence lay in his knowledge of naval affairs; he was an able sea-captain, a skilful pilot, a good sailor, an expert ship-wright, and his knowledge of these arts was the more meritorious, as he was born with a great dread of the water.

In his youth he could not pass over a bridge without trembling: on all these occasions he caused the wooden windows of his coach to be shut; but of this constitutional weakness he soon got the better by his courage and resolution. He caused a beautiful harbour to be built at the mouth of the Tanais, near Asoph, in which he proposed to keep a number of gallies; and some time after, thinking that these vessels, so long, light, and flat, would probably succeed in the Baltick, he had upwards of three hundred of them built at his favourite city of Petersburg. He shewed his subjects the method of building ships with fir only, and taught them the art of navigation. He had even learnt surgery, and, in a case of necessity, has been known to tap a per-

son for the dropſy. He was well verſed in mechanics, and inſtructed the workmen.

The revenue of the Czar, when compared to the immense extent of his dominions, was indeed inconfiderable. It never amounted to four and twenty millions of livres, reckoning the mark at about fifty livres, as we do to-day, though we may not do ſo to-morrow. But he may always be accounted rich, who has it in his power to accompliſh great undertakings. It is not the ſcarcity of money that debilitates a ſtate, it is the want of men, and of men of abilities.

Ruſſia, notwithstanding the women are fruitful and the men robuſt, is not very populous. Peter himſelf; in civilizing his dominions, unhappily contributed to the decrease of his people. Frequent levies in his wars, which were long unſucceſſful; nations transported from the coaſts of the Caſpian Sea to thoſe of the Baltic, deſtroyed by fatigue, or cut off by diſeaſes; three fourths of the Muſcovite children dying of the ſmall-pox, which is more dangerous in thoſe climates than in any other; in a word, the melancholy effects of a government ſavage for a long time, and even barbarous in its policy; theſe were the cauſes that in this country, comprehending ſo great a part of the continent, there are ſtill vaſt deſerts. Ruſſia is, at preſent, ſuppoſed to contain five hundred thouſand families of gentlemen; two hundred thouſand lawyers; ſomething more than five millions of citizens and peaſants, who pay a ſort of tax; ſix hundred thouſand men who live in the provinces conquered from the Swedes. The Coſſacks in the Ukraïne, and the Tartars that are ſubject to Muſcovy, do not exceed two millions; in ſine, it appears that in this immense country, there are not above fourteen millions of people, that is, a little more than two thirds of the inhabitants of France.*

* This was written in the year 1727. The population of Ruſſia hath greatly increaſed ſince that time, as well by military conqueſt, as by the arts of civil policy and the care which has been taken to induce foreigners to come to, and reſide in the country.

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While the czar was thus employed in changing the laws, the manners, the militia, and the very face of his country, he likewise resolved to encrease his greatness by encouraging commerce, which at once constitutes the riches of a particular state, and contributes to the interest of the world in general. He undertook to make Russia the center of trade between Asia and Europe. He determined to join the Duna, the Volga, and the Tanais, by canals, of which he drew the plans; and thus to open a new passage from the Baltick to the Euxine and Caspian Seas, and from those seas to the Northern Ocean. The port of Archangel, frozen up nine months in the year, and which could not be entered without making a long and dangerous circuit, did not appear to him sufficiently commodious. So long ago, therefore, as the year 1700, he had formed a design of opening a sea-port on the Baltic, that should become the magazine of the north, and of building a city that should prove the capital of his empire.

He had even then attempted the discovery of a north-east passage to China; and the manufactures of Pekin and Paris were intended to embellish his new city.

A road by land, 754 versts long, running through marshes, that were to be drained, led from Moscow to his new city. Most of these projects have been executed by himself; and the two empresses, his successors, have even improved upon his schemes, that were practicable, and abandoned only such as it was impossible to accomplish.

He travelled up and down his dominions, as much as his wars would permit; but he travelled like a legislator and a philosopher, examining nature every where, endeavouring to correct or perfect her; taking himself the soundings of seas and rivers; repairing sluices, visiting docks, causing mines to be searched for, assaying metals, and in ordering accurate plans to be drawn, in the execution of which he himself assisted.

He built upon a desert spot the imperial city of Petersburg, containing at present sixty thousand houses, the residence of a splendid court, whose amusements

are of the most refined taste. He built the harbour of Cronstad, on the Neva, and St. Croix, on the frontiers of Persia; he erected forts on the Ukraine, and in Siberia, established offices of admiralty at Archangel, Petersburg, Astracan, and Azoph; founded arsenals, and built and endowed hospitals. All his own houses were mean, and executed in a bad taste; but he spared no expences in rendering the public buildings grand and magnificent.

The sciences, which in other countries have been the slow product of so many ages, were, by his care and industry, imported into Russia, in full perfection. He established an academy on the plan of the famous societies of Paris and London. The Delilles, the Bulfingers, the Hermannus's, the Bernouilles, and the celebrated Wolf, a man who excelled in every branch of philosophy, were all invited and brought to Petersburg, at a great expence. This academy still subsists; and the Muscovites, at length, have philosophers of their own nation.

He obliged the young nobility to travel for improvement, and to bring back into Russia the politeness of foreign countries. I have myself seen young Russians who were men of genius and science. It was thus that a single man hath reformed the greatest empire in the world. It is however shocking to reflect that this reformer of mankind should have been deficient in that first of all virtues, the virtue of humanity. Brutality in his pleasures, ferocity in his manners, and cruelty in his punishments, sullied the lustre of his many virtues. He civilized his subjects, and yet remained a barbarian. He would sometimes, with his own hands, execute his sentence of death upon unhappy criminals; and, in the midst of a revel, would shew his dexterity in decapitation.

In Africa, there are princes, who thus with their own hands, shed the blood of their subjects; but these pass for barbarians. The death of a son, whom he ought to have corrected, or at worst disinherited, would render the memory of Peter the object of universal hatred,

hatred, were it not that the great and many blessings he bestowed upon his subjects, were almost sufficient to excuse his cruelty to his own offspring.

Such was czar Peter; his great projects being little more than in embryo when he joined the kings of Poland and Denmark, against a child whom they all despised. The founder of the Russian empire was ambitious of being a conqueror; and such he thought he might easily become, by the prosecution of a war, which, being so well projected, could not fail, he imagined, of proving advantageous to his subjects: the art of war was a new art, which it was necessary to teach his people.

He wanted besides a port on the east side of the Baltic, to facilitate the execution of his schemes. He wanted the province of Ingria, which lies to the north-east of Livonia. The Swedes were in possession of it, and from them he resolved to take it by force. His predecessors had claims upon Ingria, Estonia, and Livonia; and the present seemed a favourable opportunity of reviving these claims, which had been buried for a hundred years, and had been annihilated by treaties. He entered therefore into a league with the king of Poland, to wrest from young Charles XII. all the territories that are bounded by the gulph of Finland, the Baltic Sea, Poland, and Muscovy.

BOOK II.

A R G U M E N T.

A Remarkable and unexpected Change in the Character of Charles the 12th. At the Age of eighteen he engages in a War against Denmark, Poland, and Muscovy: finishes that with Denmark in six Weeks: defeats eighty Thousand Russians with only eight Thousand Swedes, and marches into Poland.—A Description of Poland and its Government.—Charles gains many Battles, and is Master of Poland, where he prepares to appoint a King.

THUS did three powerful sovereigns threaten the infancy of Charles the XIIth. The news of these preparations dismayed the Swedes, and alarmed the council. All their distinguished generals were dead; and they had every reason to tremble under the reign of a young king, who had as yet given them but a bad opinion of his abilities. He hardly ever came to council for any other purpose than to lay his legs across on the table: absent and indifferent, he never appeared to interest himself in any thing.

As the council were one day deliberating, in his presence, on the dangerous predicament in which they stood; some of them proposed to avoid the impending tempest by negotiations; when the young prince immediately rose with the grave and assured air of a man of superior abilities, who had fixed his resolution. "Gentlemen, said he, I am resolved never to begin an unjust war, but never to finish an unjust one but with the destruction of my enemies. My resolution is fixt: I will march and attack the first who shall declare war: and when I shall have conquered him I hope to strike terror into the rest." All the old counsellors, astonished at this declaration, looked at each other without daring to answer. In short, surprized at having such a king, and ashamed to appear less confident than him, they received his orders for the war with admiration.

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They were still more agreeably surprized, when they beheld him renounce at once the most innocent amusements of his youth. From the first moment of his preparing himself for the war, he began an entire new course of life; from which he never after departed a single moment. Full of the idea of Alexander and Cæsar, he determined to imitate those two heroes in every thing but their vices. He no longer indulged himself in magnificence, sports and recreations; and reduced his table to the most rigid frugality. He had before loved pomp in his dress; but he now dressed himself as a common soldier. It was generally supposed that he had formed a strong attachment to a lady of his court: but whether this supposition was true or not, it is certain that he from that time renounced all fondness for the sex, not only from the fear of being governed by them, but that of setting the example to his soldiers, whom he was desirous of reducing to the most rigid discipline; and, perhaps also from the vanity of being deemed the only king who could subdue a passion, so difficult to surmount. He likewise resolved to abstain from wine during the rest of his life. Many people told me, that he made this resolution merely to get the better of his inclinations in every thing, and to give an additional lustre to his self-denial; but by far the greater part assured me, that he was determined by those means to punish himself for an excess which he had been guilty of, and for an affront he had offered to a lady at table even in the presence of the queen his mother. Even if that be true, this self-condemnation of his behaviour, and the abstinence which he imposed on himself throughout his life, is a species of heroism not less to be admired.

His first step was to grant assistance to his brother-in-law, the duke of Holstein. Eight thousand men were immediately sent into Pomerania, a province bordering upon Holstein, to fortify the duke against the attacks of the Danes. And indeed the duke had need of them. His dominions were laid waste, his castle at Gottorp taken, and the city of Tonningen pressed

pressed by an obstinate siege, to which the king of Denmark was come in person, in order to enjoy a conquest which he imagined certain. This spark began to throw the empire into a flame. On the one side, the Saxon troops of the king of Poland, those of Brandenburg, Wolfenbuttle, and Hesse Cassel, advanced to join the Danes. On the other, the eight thousand men sent by the king of Sweden, the troops of Hanover and Zell, and three regiments of Dutch, came to assist the duke. At the time the little country of Holstein became thus the theatre of the war, two squadrons, the one from England, and the other from Holland, appeared in the Baltic. These two states were guarantees of the treaty of peace of Altena, which treaty the Danes had broken through; the English and Dutch therefore were in earnest, at this time, to support the oppressed duke of Holstein, because it was for the interest of their commerce, to check the growing power of the king of Denmark. They knew, that the Danish king being once master of the passage of the Sound, would impose the most oppressive laws on the mercantile nations, as soon as ever he was in a situation to do it with impunity. This mutual interest has long engaged the Dutch and English to maintain, as much as possible, the balance of power between the northern princes: they therefore joined the young king of Sweden, who appeared in danger of being crushed by the combination of so many enemies, and supported him for the same reason that the others attacked him, because they looked upon him as incapable of defending himself.

Charles was amusing himself with hunting the bear when he received the news of the Saxons invading Livonia: the manner in which he practised this amusement was as novel as dangerous; he used no other arms than forked sticks, and a small net fixed to some trees; a bear of an inconceivable size run directly at the king, who brought it to the ground after a long struggle, by the aid only of the net and his stick. It must be confessed, that, in reflecting on such adventures,

tures, on the personal strength of king Augustus, and the travels of czar Peter, one would be apt to think we lived in the days of Hercules and Theseus.

Charles set out on his first campaign, the eighth of May, new style, in the year 1700; when he quitted Stockholm, to which he never after returned. An innumerable crowd of people accompanied him as far as the port of Carelsbroon; offering up prayers for his success, and with tears expressing their admiration. Before he left Sweden, he established at Stockholm a council of defence, composed of several senators; whose duty it was to take care of every thing that regarded the navy, the army, and the fortifications of the country. The body of the senate was to regulate provisionally every thing in the interior part of the kingdom. Having thus established a regular mode of administration in his dominions, his mind, divested of every other care, was entirely taken up with the war. His fleet consisted of three and forty ships; that in which he himself sailed was called "The King Charles," and was the largest that had ever been seen, carrying an hundred and twenty guns. In this ship count Piper, his first minister of state, and general Renschild, embarked along with him. He joined the squadrons of the allies, when the Danish fleet declining the combat, gave the three combined fleets an opportunity of approaching Copenhagen, nigh enough to throw into it several shells.

Certain it is, that it was the king himself, who then proposed to general Renschild to make a descent, and to besiege Copenhagen by land, while it was thus blocked up by sea. Renschild was astonished at a proposal which shewed evident marks of skill and courage, in a prince so young and so unexperienced. Every thing was immediately prepared for the descent, and orders given for the embarkation of five thousand men, who lay upon the coasts of Sweden, and joined the troops they had on board. The king quitted his large ship, and went into a frigate of less weight: they then began by sending off three hundred grenadiers, in small
shallops;

shallops; and among these were some small flat-bottomed boats, which carried the fascines, the chevaux de frize, and the implements of the pioneers; then followed five hundred men in other shallops, and lastly came the king's man of war, together with two English and two Dutch frigates, who were to favour the debarkation, under cover of their cannon.

Copenhagen, the capital of Denmark, is situated in the isle of Zealand, in the midst of a beautiful plain, having the Sound on the north-east, and the Baltic Sea on the east, where the king of Sweden then lay. At this unexpected movement of the vessels, which threatened a descent, the inhabitants, astonished at the inactivity of their own fleet, and at the movements of the Swedish fleet, waited with terror to see on what part the storm should fall. The Swedish fleet stopt over-against Humblebeck, about seven miles from Copenhagen, at which place the Danes assembled their cavalry. Their foot were posted behind entrenchments, and all the artillery they could bring up were turned against the Swedes.

The king then quitted his frigate, and got into the first barge, at the head of his guards; when the French ambassador standing next to him, he said to him, in Latin, (for he would never speak French) "You have nothing, Mr. Ambassador, to do with the Danes: you need go no farther, if you please." "Sire," answered the count de Guiscard, in French, "the king my master ordered me to reside with your Majesty; I flatter myself, you will not banish me your court, which was never more brilliant than it is to-day." In saying this, he gave his hand to the king, who leaped into the barge, into which count Piper and the ambassador immediately followed. They advanced under shelter of the cannon of the ships, which favoured their landing. The long boats were as yet but three hundred paces from the shore, when Charles, impatient at their slow motion, threw himself from his barge into the sea, sword in hand, having the water above his waist: his ministers, the French ambassador,

bassador, the officers and soldiers immediately followed his example, and marched to the shore, in spite of a shower of the enemy's musquetry. The king, who had never in his life heard a volley of muskets loaded with ball, demanded of major-general Stuart, whom he perceived near him, what it was that occasioned the whizzing in his ears? "It is the noise of the musket balls that they fire upon you," said the major to him. "Good," replied the king, "then, from henceforward, that shall be my music." At this instant, the major, who had explained the noise made by the musket shot, received one in his shoulder; and a lieutenant dropt down dead on the side of the king.

It generally happens, that the troops who are attacked in their trenches, are beaten, because those who make the attack always possess an impetuosity, which those who merely defend themselves can never arrive at; besides, the waiting the enemy's approach is often an acknowledgement of their own weakness, and of their adversary's superiority. The Danish cavalry and soldiery, after a feeble resistance, took to flight. The king, thus become master of their entrenchments, fell upon his knees to return thanks to God for this first success of his arms. He immediately caused redoubts to be raised towards the town, and marked himself a place for the encampment. In the mean time he sent back his transports to Schonen, a part of Sweden, bordering upon Copenhagen, for a reinforcement of nine thousand men. Every thing conspired to favour the vivacity of Charles; these troops were already assembled on the shore, and ready to embark; accordingly the next day a favourable wind brought them to him.

This transportation was effected in the sight of the Danish fleet, which did not dare to advance. Copenhagen being intimidated, immediately dispatched deputies to the king, to beseech him not to bombard the town. He received them on horseback at the head of his regiment of guards, and the deputies threw themselves on their knees before him. He made the town

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pay him one hundred thousand rix-dollars, and ordered them to bring all sorts of provisions to the camp; for which he promised honestly to pay. They carried him the provisions, because it was necessary to obey, although they did not much expect that the conquerors would have so much condescension: the carriers, however, were greatly astonished at being paid generously, and without delay, by the lowest soldiers in the army. There had long prevailed among the Swedish troops a strict discipline, which had not a little contributed to this victory; and the young king encreased its severity. There was not a soldier that dared to refuse payment for what he bought, still less to go a plundering, nor even to go out of the camp. He did still more, for in a victory his troops did not strip the dead, till they had received his permission; and he easily brought them to observe this law. Prayers were regularly said in his camp twice a day, at seven o'clock in the morning, and at four in the afternoon; at which he never failed to assist in person, and to set the soldiers an example of piety, which never fails making an impression on men when they do not suppose it to be hypocrisy. His camp, better regulated than even the city of Copenhagen, had every thing in abundance, as the peasants preferred selling their commodities to the Swedes their enemies, rather than to the Danes, who did not pay them so well. Even the citizens were obliged to come, more than once, to seek in the camp of the king of Sweden, those provisions, which their own markets failed to furnish.

The king of Denmark was, at this time, in Holstein, whither he seemed to have gone for no other purpose than to raise the siege of Tonningen. He saw the Baltic Sea covered with the enemy's ships, a young conqueror already master of Zealand, and ready prepared to seize on his capitol. He therefore caused it to be published throughout his dominions, that those who took up arms against the Swedes should have their liberty. This declaration was of great weight in a country formerly free, but in which, at that time, all the peasants, and even
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many of the citizens were slaves. Charles sent word to the king of Denmark, that he had made war only to oblige him to make peace, and that he must either resolve to do justice to the duke of Holstein, or see Copenhagen destroyed, and his kingdom put to the fire and sword. The dane was too happy in having to do with a conqueror who piqued himself on his justice. A congress was assembled in the town of Travendal, on the frontiers of Holstein. The king of Sweden would not suffer the negotiations to be delayed by the arts of ministers, but was determined that the treaty should be finished with the same rapidity with which he had descended into Zealand. It was, therefore, actually concluded on the fifth of August, to the advantage of the duke of Holstein, who was indemnified for all the expences of the war, and thus delivered from oppression. The king of Sweden, satisfied with having succoured his ally, and humbled his enemy, would accept of nothing for himself. Thus Charles XII, at eighteen years of age, began and finished a war in less than six weeks.

It was precisely at this time, that the king of Poland invested the town of Riga, the capital of Livonia, and the czar also advanced, on the side of the east, at the head of near a hundred thousand men. Riga was defended by the old count d'Alberg, a Swedish general, who, at the age of eighty, joined the fire of a young man to the experience of sixty campaigns. Count Fleming, afterwards minister of Poland, a man famous in the field as in the cabinet, and Patkul, the Livonian; each of these pressed the siege under the inspection of the king; but in spite of several advantages that the besiegers had gained, the experience of the old count d'Alberg, rendered their efforts useless, and the king of Poland despaired of taking the town. He at last laid hold of an honourable pretence for raising the siege. Riga was full of merchandize belonging to the Dutch. The states-general ordered their ambassador at the court of Augustus, to make that circumstance known to him. The king of Poland needed not much in-

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treaty.

treaty. He consented to raise the siege rather than occasion the least damage to his allies; who were not astonished at this excess of complaisance; of which they very well knew the true cause.

There remained nothing more for Charles to do, to finish his first campaign, than to march against his rival in glory, Peter Alexiowitz. He was the more exasperated against him, as there were at that time at Stockholm three Muscovite ambassadors, who had sworn to the renewal of an inviolable peace. He could not comprehend, as he piqued himself on a most rigid integrity, that a legislator, like the czar, could make a jest of what ought to be so sacred. The young prince full of honour himself, did not imagine, that there could be a system of morality for kings different from that for individuals. The emperor of Muscovy had just published a manifesto, which he had much better have suppressed. He there alledged that the reason of his making war was, that he had not sufficient honour paid him when he passed incognito to Riga; and likewise that they sold their provisions to his ambassadors at too dear a rate. It was for these injuries, therefore, that he ravaged Ingria, with eighty thousand men.

He appeared before Narva, at the head of this great army, on the first of October, at a season of the year, more severe in this climate, than it is in the month of January, at Paris. The czar, who in this inclement season would sometimes ride post, to see a mine or a canal, was not more careful of his troops than of himself. Besides, he knew that the Swedes, since the time of Gustavus Adolphus, could make war in the midst of winter as well as in summer: he, therefore, wished to accustom the Russians likewise to know no distinction of seasons, and to render them, one day, not in the least inferior to the Swedes. In this manner, at a time when the ice and snow obliged other nations, even in more temperate climates, to suspend the war, did the czar Peter besiege Narva, within thirty degrees of the Pole; while Charles XII. advanced to relieve it.

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The czar was no sooner arrived before the place, than he hastened to put in practice what he had just learned in his travels. He marked out his camp, fortified it on every side, raised redoubts at due distances, and opened the trenches himself. He had given the command of his army to the Duke de Croix, a German, and a skilful general, but who, at that time, was little assisted by the Russian officers. As for himself, he held no other rank in his own troops than that of a lieutenant. He thus set the example of military obedience to the nobility, who were till then undisciplined, and who were only used to govern ill-armed slaves, without experience or order. It was not to be wondered at, that he, who turned carpenter at Amsterdam, to procure himself fleets, should serve as lieutenant at Narva, to teach his country the art of war.

The Russians are robust, indefatigable, and perhaps as brave as the Swedes; but time and discipline alone can render troops warlike and invincible. The only regiments from which any thing was expected, was commanded by German officers, but they were few in number. The rest were barbarians, forced from the forests, and covered with the skins of wild beasts; some were armed with arrows and some with clubs; few of them had fuses; none had seen a regular siege; nor was there a good gunner in the whole army. A hundred and fifty cannon, which ought to have reduced the little town of Narva to ashes, were scarcely able to make a breach, while, on the other hand, the artillery of the city destroyed at every discharge, whole ranks of the enemy in their trenches. Narva was almost without fortifications; and the Baron de Hoorn, who commanded it, had not a thousand regulars; and yet this innumerable army could not reduce it in ten weeks.

It was the fifth of November, when the czar was apprized that the king of Sweden, having crossed the sea with two hundred transports, was upon the march to the relief of Narva. The Swedes were but twenty thousand strong; yet the czar had no superiority

but that of number. Far from despising his enemy, he employed every art he was master of to overpower him. Not content with eighty thousand men, he prepared another army to oppose him, and to cross him at every turn. He had already ordered near thirty thousand men, who advanced by long marches from Pleskow. He then took a step, which would have rendered him contemptible, if a legislator, who had performed so many great exploits, could be made so. He quitted his camp, where his presence was necessary, in quest of this fresh body of men, which might have arrived very well without him, and appeared by this behaviour to be afraid of engaging in his entrenchments, a young and unexperienced prince, who might come to attack him.

But, be this as it may, he wanted to inclose Charles between two armies. This was not all, thirty thousand men detached from the camp which lay before Narva, were posted a league from the city, on the road along which the king of Sweden was to pass: twenty thousand Strelits were placed at a greater distance on the same road, and five thousand others formed an advanced guard. All these troops Charles was obliged to repulse before he could arrive at the camp, which was fortified with a rampart and a double ditch. The king of Sweden had landed at Pernaw, in the gulph of Riga, with about six thousand of his infantry, and a little more than four thousand horse. From Pernaw he hastened his march to Revel, followed by all his cavalry, and only four thousand foot. As he always marched on first, without waiting for the rest of his troops, he soon found himself, with his eight thousand men only, near the advanced posts of the enemy. He did not hesitate a moment about attacking them; which he did, one after the other, without giving them time to be acquainted with what a small number they had to engage. The Muscovites seeing the Swedes thus rush upon them, thought they had the whole army to encounter, and the advanced guard of five thousand men, who were posted among

among the rocks, a station in which five hundred resolute men might have repulsed a whole army, betook themselves to flight on the first approach of the Swedes. The twenty thousand men who were behind, seeing their companions fly, took the alarm, and carried disorder with them into the camp. All the posts were carried in two days; and what upon other occasions would have been counted for three victories, did not retard the march of the king a single hour. At last he appeared, with his eight thousand men, fatigued with so long a march, before a camp of eighty thousand Muscovites, defended by one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon. And scarcely had the troops rested themselves, when he gave orders for the attack.

The signal was two fuses, and the word, in German, "With the aid of God." A general officer having represented to him the greatness of the danger, "Why do you imagine," said he to him, "that with my eight thousand brave Swedes, I shall not be able to beat eighty thousand Muscovites?" A moment after, fearing that there appeared a little gasconade in these words, he run after the officer himself: "Are you not then of my opinion?" said he to him: "Have I not a double advantage over my enemies; the one, that their cavalry can do them no service, and the other, that the place being narrow, their great number will but incommode them? and therefore I shall in reality be stronger than they." The officer did not care to be of a different opinion; and they marched against the Muscovites, about mid-day, on the 30th of November, 1700.

As soon as the cannon of the Swedes had made a breach in their intrenchments, they advanced, with their bayonets fixed on their fuses, having at their backs a furious shower of snow, which came in the face of the enemy. The Russians stood their ground for half an hour, without quitting their side of the trenches. The king made his attack upon the right of the camp, where the quarters of the czar was, hoping to

encounter him, not knowing that the emperor himself was gone to seek the forty thousand men, who were expected every moment to arrive. At the first discharge of the enemy's muskets, the king received a shot in his neck : but it being a spent ball, it lodged in the plaits of his black cravat, and did him no harm. His horse was also killed under him. Mr. de Spar told me, that the king sprung nimbly upon another horse, saying, " these gentry here make me do my exercise ;" and continued fighting and giving orders with the same presence of mind. After three hours engagement, the entrenchments were forced on every side. The king followed the right of the enemy as far as the river Narva, with his left wing, if about four thousand men who were pursuing near forty thousand can be so called. The bridge breaking under the fugitives, the river was in a moment filled with the dead. The others, desperate, returned to their camp, without knowing where to go ; they there found some barracks, behind which they posted themselves. There they defended themselves for some time, not being able to make their escape, but at last their generals Dolgorouky, Gollofkin, and Fédérowits, came and surrendered themselves to the king, and laid their arms at his feet. At the same time arrived the Duke de Croix, general of the army, who likewise surrendered himself, with thirty officers.

Charles received all the prisoners of distinction with as much politeness, and in as friendly a manner, as if he had been paying them the honours of an entertainment in his own court. He detained none but the generals. All the subaltern officers and soldiers were conducted, unarmed, as far as the river Narva ; and were there furnished with boats, that they might pass over to their own country. In the mean time night approached, and the Muscovites on the right still continued fighting. The Swedes had not lost above six hundred men ; while eighteen thousand Muscovites had been killed in their entrenchments, a great number drowned, and many had passed the river ; yet there still remained a sufficient
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number in the camp, to have entirely destroyed the Swedes. But it is not the number of the dead, it is the terror of the survivors that occasions the loss of battles. The king took the advantage of the small part of the day that remained, in seizing the enemy's artillery. He posted himself advantageously between their camp and the town, where he slept some hours on the ground, wrapped up in his cloak, waiting for day-break, that he might fall on the enemy's left wing; which was not yet entirely routed. But at two o'clock in the morning, general Wade, who commanded that wing, having heard of the gracious reception the king had given to the other generals, and in what manner he had dismissed all the subaltern officers and soldiers, sent to beseech the same favour. The conqueror told him, that he had nothing to do but to approach at the head of his army, and lay down his arms and colours at his feet. Accordingly this general soon after appeared, with his Muscovites, who were about thirty thousand in number. They marched uncovered, soldiers and officers, through less than seven thousand Swedes. The soldiers, in passing before the king, threw their guns and swords upon the ground, and the officers laid their ensigns and colours at his feet. He caused the whole of this multitude to be conducted over the river, without detaining a single soldier prisoner. If he had kept them, the number of the prisoners would have been at least five times greater than that of the conquerors.

He then entered victorious into Narva, accompanied by the duke de Croix, and other general officers of the Muscovites. He caused their swords to be returned them; and knowing that they wanted money, and that the merchants of Narva would not lend them any, he sent a thousand ducats to the duke de Croix, and five hundred to each of the Muscovite officers; who could not cease admiring at this treatment, of which they had not even an idea. They immediately drew up a relation of the victory, to send to Stockholm, and to the allies of Sweden; but the king struck out with his own hand every thing which appeared in praise of himself,

self, and to reflect on the czar. His modesty could not however prevent them from striking, at Stockholm, several medals, to perpetuate the memory of these events. Among others they struck one which represented the king on one side, standing on a pedestal, to which were chained, a Muscovite, a Dane, and a Poland; on the other side was a Hercules, armed with his club, having under his feet a cerberus, with this inscription: *Tres uno contudit istu.*

Among the prisoners taken at the battle of Narva, there was one, who exhibited a striking instance of the revolutions of fortune: he was the eldest son and heir of the king of Georgia; he was called the Czarafis Artschelou; this title of czarafis, signifies a prince, or son of the czar, among the Tartars, as well as in Muscovy; for the word czar, or tsar, meant a king among the ancient Scythians; from whom all these people are descended, and is not derived from the Cæsars of Rome, so long unknown to these barbarians. His father Mettelski, czar, and master of the most beautiful part of the country, which lies between the mountains of Ararat, and the eastern coasts of the black sea, had been driven from his throne by his own subjects, in 1688, and had chosen rather to throw himself into the arms of the emperor of Muscovy, than have recourse to the Turks. The son of this king, at the age of nineteen, wished to follow Peter the Great, in his expedition against the Swedes, and was taken fighting by some Finland soldiers, who had already stripped him, and were going to kill him, when count Renschild rescued him from their hands, clothed him, and presented him to his master. Charles sent him to Stockholm, where this unhappy prince died in a few years after. The king, on seeing him depart, could not help making, in the hearing of his officers, a natural reflection on the strange destiny of an Asiatic prince, born at the foot of mount Caucasus, going to live a captive among the snows of Sweden. "It is," says he, "as if I were one day to be a prisoner among the Crim Tartars." These words made no impression
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at the time; but in the sequel they were remembered too well, when an event proved them a prediction.

The czar was advancing, by long marches, with the army of forty thousand Russians, thinking to surround his enemy on all sides; when he heard, before he had proceeded half way, of the battle of Narva, and the dispersion of his whole camp. He was not so obstinate, as to think of attacking, with his forty thousand men, without experience or discipline, a conqueror who had just destroyed eighty thousand men in their entrenchments. He turned back, and pursued, without ceasing, the design of disciplining his troops, at the same time that he civilized his subjects. "I know very well," said he, "That the Swedes will beat us for this some time, but in the end they themselves will teach us to beat them." Moscow, his capital, was in terror and confusion at this defeat. Nay such was the pride and ignorance of this people, that they imagined they had been conquered by a power more than human, and that the Swedes were real Magicians. This opinion was so general, that public prayers were ordered to be put up on this occasion to St. Nicholas, patron of Muscovy. This prayer is too singular, not to be repeated. It is as follows:

"O thou, who art our perpetual consoler in all our
"adversities, great St. Nicholas, infinitely powerful,
"by what sin have we offended thee, in our sacrifices,
"kneeling, bowings, and thanksgivings, that thou
"hast thus abandoned us? We have implored thy as-
"sistance against these terribly insolent, enraged, dread-
"ful and unconquerable destroyers, when like lions
"and bears, who have lost their young, they have at-
"tacked us, terrified, wounded and killed by thou-
"sands, us thy people. As it is impossible that this
"can be without sorcery and enchantment, we be-
"seech thee, O great St. Nicholas, to be our cham-
"pion and our standard-bearer, and to drive them
"far from our frontiers with the recompense that is
"their due."

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In the mean time that they were complaining to St. Nicholas of their defeat, Charles XII. returned thanks to God, and prepared himself for new victories.

The king of Poland had reason to expect, that his enemy being conqueror over the Danes and Muscovites, would presently fall upon him. He therefore united himself firmer than ever to the czar. These two princes agreed upon an interview, that they might take their measures in concert. They met at Birzen, a small town in Lithuania, without any of these formalities, which only serve to retard business, and which were not suited either to their situation or their humour. The princes of the north see each other with a familiarity, which is not yet established in the southern parts of Europe. Peter and Augustus passed five days together in pleasures which bordered upon excess: for the czar, though he wanted to reform his nation, could never correct in himself a propensity to debauchery.

The king of Poland engaged himself, to furnish the czar with fifty thousand men belonging to German troops, which were to be hired of different princes, and for which the czar was to pay. The czar on his side was to send fifty thousand Russians into Poland, to learn the art of war, and promised to pay to Augustus three million of rix-dollars in two years. This treaty, if it had been executed, might have been fatal to the king of Sweden: it was a ready and sure method of rendering the Muscovites good soldiers: it was, perhaps, forging chains for part of Europe.

Charles prepared himself to prevent the king of Poland from reaping the fruit of this league. After having passed the winter at Narva, he appeared in Livonia, in the neighbourhood of Riga, the very town which Augustus had in vain besieged. The Saxon troops were posted along the river Duna, which is very broad in that place: Charles, who was on the other side of the river was obliged to dispute their passage. The Saxons were not commanded by their prince, he being sick; but were headed by the Marshal de Stenau, who

who took the office of general; under whom prince Ferdinand, duke of Courland, commanded, and that very Patkul, now defended his country against Charles XII. sword in hand, who formerly vindicated its rights with his pen, at the hazard of his life, against Charles XI. The king of Sweden had caused some large boats to be built on a new plan, the sides of which were much higher than ordinary, and could be raised or let down, like a draw-bridge. When raised they covered the troops on board; and when let down they served as bridges to land them. He made use also of another artifice. Having remarked that the wind blew from the north, where he lay, to the south, where the enemy's camps were; he ordered that they should set fire to a quantity of wet straw, from which a thick smoak arising, it spread itself over the river, preventing the Saxons from seeing his troops, or observing what he was about. Under the cover of this cloud, he ordered several barks to put off full of the like wet fuel; so that the cloud always increasing, and driven by the wind into the eyes of the enemy, made it impossible for them to know whether the king was passing the river or not. Mean while, he alone conducted the execution of his stratagem. Having got over the greater part of the river: "Well," says he, to general Renschild, "the Duna will be as favourable to us as the sea of Copenhagen; believe me, general, we shall beat them." He arrived in a quarter of an hour at the other side; and was mortified that he was the fourth person that leaped on shore. He immediately landed his cannon, and formed a line of battle, while the enemy, blinded with smoak, could not oppose him, except by a few random shot. The wind having dispersed the smoke, the Saxons saw the king of Sweden already advancing towards them.

Mareschal Stenau lost not a moment: scarce had he perceived the Swedes, when he fell on them with the best part of his cavalry. The violent shock of this body falling upon the Swedes at the instant that they were forming their battalions, threw them into disorder. They gave way, were broken, and pursued even into

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the river. The king of Sweden rallied them in a moment, above his middle in water, as easily as if he had been exercising at a review. After which his soldiers marched more compact than before, repulsed Mareschal Stenau, and advanced into the plain. Stenau, finding that his troops were astonished, like an able general, made them retire into a dry place, flanked with a morass and a wood where his artillery lay. The advantage of the ground, and the time thus given to the Saxons to recover their first surprize, restored to them their former courage. Charles did not hesitate to attack them; he had fifteen thousand men with him; Stenau and the duke of Courland about twelve thousand, with no other artillery than one dismounted cannon. The battle was obstinate and bloody; the duke had two horses killed under him: he penetrated three times into the centre of the king's guard; but at last having been knocked off his horse, by a blow with the butt-end of a musket, disorder prevailed throughout his army, who no longer disputed the victory. His cuirassiers carried him off with great difficulty, bruised and half dead, from the thickest of the fight, and from under the horses heels, which trampled on him.

The king of Sweden, after his victory, advanced to Mittau, the capital of Courland. All the towns of this dutchy surrendered to him at discretion, so that it was a journey rather than a conquest. He passed without delay into Lithuania, conquering as he went along. He felt a flattering satisfaction, and he confessed it, when he entered as a conqueror the town of Birzen, where the king of Poland and the czar had conspired against him, some months before.

It was in this place that he first conceived the design of dethroning the king of Poland, by the hands of the Poles themselves. Being one day at table, his mind entirely taken up with this enterprize, and observing his usual temperance of diet, he was wrapped in profound silence, and seemed absorbed in the greatness of his conceptions, when a German colonel, who was present at dinner, observed, loud enough to be heard, that
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the repast which the czar and the king of Poland had made in the same place, was somewhat different from that of his majesty. "Yes," said the king, rising, "and I shall the more easily spoil their digestion." In short, intermixing a little policy with the force of his arms, he did not delay executing the design which he had meditated.

Poland, a part of the antient Sarmatia, is a little larger than France, but less populous, though it is more so than Sweden. Its inhabitants were converted to christianity only about seven hundred and fifty years ago. It is very singular, that the language of the Romans, who never penetrated into this country, is at this time spoken no where in common but in Poland; there every body speaks Latin, even among the very servants. This extensive country is very fertile; and the people are consequently less industrious. The artists and traders, you meet with in Poland, are Scotch, French, but more generally Jews; the latter have near three hundred synagogues, and they multiply so fast, that they will in time be banished from it, as they have been already from Spain. They buy at a low price, corn, cattle, and the different commodities of the country; these they dispose of at Dantzick and Germany, and sell to the nobles at a high price, to gratify the only species of luxury which they know and love. Thus, this country, watered with the most beautiful rivers, rich in pastures, in salt mines, and covered with luxuriant crops, remains poor in spite of its plenty: because the people are slaves, and the nobility are proud and indolent.

Its government is the most perfect model of the ancient government of the Goths and Celtæ, which has been corrected or altered every where else. It is the only state that has preserved the name of a republic with the royal dignity.

Every gentleman has a right to give his vote in the election of a king; and may even be elected himself. This most estimable right is attended with the greatest inconvenience, the throne is almost always to sell; and

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as a Polander is seldom rich enough to buy it, it has been often sold to strangers. The nobility and clergy defend their rights against the king, and deprive the rest of the nation of theirs. All the people are slaves; such is the destiny of men, that the greater number are every where, by some means or other, subjected to the less. There the peasant sows not for himself, but for his lord; to whom his lands, and the labour of his hands belong, and who can sell him, or cut his throat, as he would the beast in his field: all who are gentlemen are independent. There must be an assembly of the whole nation to try him in a criminal cause; and as he cannot be touched till he is condemned; he is hardly ever punished. There is a great number of poor, who engage in the services of the more powerful, receive a salary, and do the meanest offices for it. They like better to serve even their equals than to enrich themselves by commerce, and as they dress their masters horses give themselves the title of electors of kings, and destroyers of tyrants.

Whoever sees the king of Poland in the pomp of royal majesty, would believe him the most absolute prince in Europe; at a time when he is the least. The Poles really make an agreement with him, which in other nations is mere supposition between the king and his subjects. The king of Poland, even at his consecration, and in swearing to the *pacta conventa*, absolves his subjects from the oath of allegiance, in case he violates the laws of the republic.

He fills up all offices, and confers all honours. Nothing is hereditary in Poland but the land and the rank of the nobility. The son of a palatine, or of a king, has no right to the title of his father; but there is this great difference between the king and the republic, that the former can take away no office after he has given it; but the republic may take away the crown from him if he transgresses the laws of the state.

The nobility, jealous of their liberty, often sell their votes, but seldom their affections. Scarcely have they elected a king, but, fearing his ambition, they oppose him

him by their cabals. The grandees, whom he has made, and whom he cannot unmake, often become his enemies, instead of remaining his creatures. Those who are attached to the court are objects of hatred to the rest of the nobility : this always forms two parties ; an unavoidable division, and even necessary in those countries, where they will have kings, and yet preserve their liberties.

Whatever concerns the nation is regulated in the states-general, which they call diets. These states are composed of the body of the senate, and of several gentlemen ; the senators are the palatines and the bishops : the second order is composed of the deputies of the particular diets of each palatinate. At these great assemblies, the arch-bishop of Gnesna, primate of Poland, and viceroy of the kingdom, during the interregnum, presides, and is the first man of the state, next to the king. There is seldom any other cardinal in Poland but him ; because the Roman purple giving no precedence in the senate, a bishop who shall be a cardinal, will be obliged either to take his rank as senator, or renounce the solid rights of the dignity of his own country, to support the pretensions of a foreign honour.

These diets, by the laws of the kingdom, ought to be held alternately in Poland and Livonia. The deputies often decide their business, sword in hand, in the same manner as the ancient Sarmatians, from whom they are descended, and sometimes even in liquor, a vice of which the Sarmatians were ignorant. Every gentleman deputed to the states-general, enjoys the same right, which the tribune of the people at Rome had, of opposing the laws of the senate. Any one gentleman, who says " I protest," stops by that single word the unanimous resolutions of all the rest : and if he leaves the place where the diet is held, the assembly is dissolved.

They apply to the disorders, which arise from this law, a remedy more dangerous than the disease. Poland is seldom without two factions : unanimity in their diets,

diets, therefore, being impossible, each party forms confederacies, in which they decide by the plurality of voices, without paying any regard to the protests of the minority. These assemblies, not warranted in point of law, but authorized by custom, are held in the name of the king, though often without his consent, and against his interest; something in the manner which the league in France made use of in the name of Henry III. to ruin him; and as the parliament of England, which brought Charles I. to the block, began by placing that prince's name to all the resolutions which they took to destroy him. When the commotions are finished, it is the part of the general diets to confirm or quash the acts of these confederacies. A diet can even alter every thing that has been done at preceding ones; for the same reason that in monarchial countries a king can abolish the laws of his predecessor, and likewise his own.

The nobility, who make the laws of the republic, constitute its strength also. They appear on horseback, upon any great occasion, and are able to form a body of above a hundred thousand men. This great army, called *Pospolite*, moves slowly, and is ill-governed: and the difficulty of obtaining provision and forage make it impossible for it to be long assembled: it has neither discipline, subordination, nor experience; but the love of liberty which animates it renders it always formidable.

These nobles may be conquered, or dispersed, or even held in slavery for a time; but they soon shake off the yoke; indeed they compare themselves to the reeds, which the wind bends to the ground, but which rises again as soon as the wind ceases to blow. It is for this reason that they have no places of strength: they will have themselves to be the only bulwark of the republic, nor will they suffer their king to build any forts, for fear he should make use of them, more to oppress, than to defend them. Their country is of course entirely open, except two or three frontier towns. If in a war, either civil or foreign, they resolve to sustain a siege, they are obliged to raise fortifications of earth,

earth, repair the old walls, that are half ruined, and enlarge their ditches, that are almost filled up, so that the town is generally taken before the entrenchments are completed.

The pospolite are not always on horseback to defend the country; they never mount but by the order of the diets, though sometimes, in extreme dangers, by the simple order of the king.

The ordinary guard of Poland is an army, which is maintained at the expence of the republic. It is composed of two corps, under the command of two different generals. The first corps is that of Poland, and ought to consist of thirty-six thousand men: the second, to the number of twelve thousand, is that of Lithuania. The two generals are independent, the one of the other: and though they are nominated by the king, they are accountable to nobody for their actions but the republic, and have an unlimited authority over their troops. The colonels are absolute masters of their regiments; and it belongs to them to maintain and pay the soldiery, as well as they are able; but, being seldom paid themselves, they ravage the country, and ruin the peasants, to satisfy their own avidity, and that of their soldiers. The Polish lords appear in these armies with more magnificence than they do in the towns; and their tents are more ornamented than their houses. The cavalry, which makes up two-thirds of the army, is composed of gentlemen; and is remarkable for the beauty of their horses, and the richness of their harness and accoutrements.

The gendarmes in particular, whom they distinguish into hussars and pancernes, never march without being accompanied by their valets, who hold their horses in their hands, ornamented with plates and nails of silver, saddle bows, and gilt stirrups, and sometimes of massy silver, together with large housings, trailing, after the manner of the Turks, the magnificence of whom the Poles imitate as much as possible.

But at the same time that the cavalry is fine and superb, the infantry is proportionably wretched, ill-

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cloathed,

cloathed, unarmed, without regimentals, or any thing uniform. It *was* so, at least, till about the year 1710; and yet these infantry, who resemble the wandering Tartars, supported, with an astonishing fortitude, hunger, cold, fatigue, and all the hardships of war.

One may see in the Polish soldiers the character of the ancient Sarmatians, their ancestors, the same want of discipline, the same fury to attack, the same readiness to fly from, and to return to, the attack, and likewise the same disposition to slaughter when they are conquerors.

The king of Poland flattered himself at first, that in this necessity these two armies would fight in his favour, that the Polish *pospolite* would arm themselves at his orders, and that these forces, joined to the Saxons, his subjects, and also to the Muscovites, his allies, would form a multitude, before which the small number of the Swedes would not dare to appear. But he saw himself, almost at once, deprived of these succours, by means of that very eagerness which he had shewn to have them all at once.

Accustomed, in his hereditary dominions, to absolute power, he imagined, too fondly, that he might govern in Poland as he did in Saxony. The beginning of his reign made malecontents; and his first proceedings irritated the party who had opposed his election, and alienated almost all the rest. The Poles murmured to see their towns filled with Saxon garrisons, and their frontiers lined with Saxon troops. This nation, more jealous of maintaining its liberty, than anxious to attack its neighbours, did not regard the war against the Swedes, and the irruption into Livonia, as an enterprize advantageous to the republic. It is difficult to hinder a free people from seeing their true interest. The Poles knew, that if this war, undertaken without their consent, should prove unsuccessful, their country, open on every side, would become a prey to the king of Sweden; and that if it was successful, they should be enslaved by their own king; who, being once master of Livonia and Saxony, would shut up Poland between

two states. In this alternative, either to be slaves of the king, whom they had elected, or to be ravaged by Charles XII. who was justly incensed, they raised a clamour against the war, which they believed to have been declared more against themselves than against Sweden. They regarded the Saxons and the Muscovites as the forgers of their chains; and seeing soon after that the king of Sweden had overcome every thing that opposed his passage, and was advancing with a victorious army into the very heart of Lithuania, they exclaimed against their sovereign with so much the more freedom, as he was unhappy.

Two parties at this time divided Lithuania; that of the princes of Sapieha, and that of Oginsky. These two factions began from private quarrels, and at last terminated in a civil war. The king of Sweden attached himself to the prince of Sapieha: and Oginsky, ill supported by the Saxons, found his party almost annihilated. The Lithuanian army, whom these troubles, and the want of money, had reduced to a small number, was partly dispersed by the conquerors. The few who held out for the king of Poland, were separated into small bodies of fugitive troops, who wandered about the country, and subsisted by rapine. Augustus saw nothing in Lithuania, but the weakness of his own party, the hate of his subjects, and an hostile army, conducted by a young king, enraged, victorious, and implacable.

Indeed there was an army in Poland, but instead of its being composed of thirty-six thousand men, the number prescribed by law, there were not even eighteen thousand; not only ill-paid, and ill-armed, but their generals knew not as yet which side they should take.

The only resource of the king was, to order his nobility to follow him: but he was afraid of exposing himself to a refusal, which would have discovered his weakness, and consequently have augmented it.

It was in this state of trouble and uncertainty that all the palatinates demanded a diet of the king, in the same manner as in England, when all the bodies of the state, in difficult times, present addresses to the

king, beseeching him to convoke a parliament. Augustus had more need of an army than a diet, in which the actions of the king are strictly scrutinized. However, it was necessary that he should assemble one, lest he should incense the nation beyond a reconciliation; it was accordingly appointed to be held at Warsaw, the second of December, in the year 1701. He soon perceived, however, that Charles had at least as much power as himself in this assembly. Those who favoured the Sapieha, the Lubomirsky, and their friends, the palatine Luzinsky, treasurer of the crown, (who owed his fortune to king Augustus) and especially the partizans of the prince Sobiesky, were all secretly attached to the king of Sweden.

The most considerable of these partizans, and the most dangerous enemy that the king of Poland had, was the cardinal Radjousky, archbishop of Gnesna, primate of the kingdom, and president of the diet. He was a man full of artifice and obscurities in his conduct, entirely governed by an ambitious woman, whom the Swedes called *Madam Cardinal*, and who never ceased engaging him into intrigue and faction. King John Sobiesky, the predecessor of Augustus, had first made him bishop of Warsaw, and vice-chancellor of the kingdom. Radjousky, being yet but a bishop, had obtained the cardinalship by the favour of the same king. This dignity soon opened his way to that of Primate; thus uniting in his own person every thing to impose upon mankind, he was in a state to undertake any thing with impunity.

He tried his credit, after the death of John, to place the prince, James Sobiesky, on the throne; but the torrent of hatred, which the father had incurred, great man as he was, overwhelmed his son. After this, the cardinal primate joined the abbé de Polignac to give the crown to the prince of Conti, who was in effect elected. But money and Saxon troops triumphed over his negotiations. He suffered himself at last to be drawn over to the party, that crowned the elector of Saxony, and waited with patience an opportunity of making

making a division between that nation and this new king.

The victories of Charles the XIIth. protector of prince James Sobiesky, the civil war in Lithuania, and the general alienation of mens minds from king Augustus, made the cardinal primate believe that the time was arrived, when he might send Augustus into Saxony, and open king John's son the way to the throne. This prince, the innocent object of the hatred of the Poles, had began to recover their affections, from the time their hatred to the king Augustus began: but he durst not as yet conceive an idea of so great a revolution; of which the cardinal was insensibly laying the foundation.

At first he seemed to wish to reconcile the king and the republic: he sent circular letters, dictated, in appearance, by the spirit of concord and charity; common and well known snares, but with which men are always caught. He wrote an affecting letter to the king of Sweden, conjuring him, in the name of him, who all christians equally adored, to give peace to Poland and her king. Charles XII. answered the intentions of the cardinal, rather than his words. In the mean time he remained in the great duchy of Lithuania, with his victorious army, declaring that he would not disturb the diet; that he made war against Augustus and the Saxons, and not against the Poles; and that so far from attacking the republic, he came to relieve them from oppression. These letters and these answers were intended for the public. The emissaries that were continually going and coming between the cardinal and count Piper, and the secret assemblies at the prelate's house, were the springs that regulated the motions of the diet: they proposed to send an ambassador to Charles XII. and unanimously demanded of the king, that he would call no more Muscovites to his frontiers, and that he should also send back his Saxon troops.

The bad fortune of Augustus had already done what the diet required of him. The league secretly concluded at Birzen with the Muscovites, was now become as useless, as it had at first appeared formidable.

He was far from being able to send to the czar the fifty thousand Germans he had promised to raise in the empire. Even the czar, a dangerous neighbour of Poland, was in no haste to assist with all his force, a divided kingdom, from those misfortunes he hoped to reap some advantage. He contented himself with sending twenty thousand Muscovites into Lithuania, who did more mischief than the Swedes, flying every where before the conqueror, and ravaging the lands of the Poles, till at last, being pursued by the Swedish generals, and finding nothing more to pillage, they returned in bodies to their own country. With regard to the shattered remains of the Saxon army beaten at Riga, Augustus sent them to winter and recruit in Saxony, to the end, that this sacrifice, involuntary as it was, might regain him the affections of the irritated Poles.

The war was now turned into intrigues. The diet was divided into almost as many factions as there were palatines. One day the interests of king Augustus prevailed, the next they were proscribed. Every one cried out for liberty and justice; but no one knew what it was either to be free or just. The time was lost by caballing in private and haranguing in public. The diet knew neither what they wanted, nor what they ought to do. Great assemblies hardly ever take good advice in civil broils; because the factious are bold, and the quiet part are more timid than ordinary. The diet dissolved in tumult the 17th of February, in the year 1702, after three months cabals and irresolutions. The senators, who are the palatines and bishops, remained at Warsaw. The senate of Poland has a right to make laws provisionally, which the diets seldom disannul. This body being less numerous, and accustomed to business, was far less tumultuous, and decided with greater dispatch.

They decreed that they should send to the king of Sweden, the ambassy proposed in the diet, that the pospolite should mount their horses, and hold themselves in readiness at all events: they made several regulations to appease the troubles in Lithuania, and
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still more to lessen the authority of their king, which was more to be feared than that of Charles.

Augustus chose rather, at that time, to receive hard laws from his conqueror, than from his subjects. He determined to sue for a peace to the king of Sweden, and wanted to make a secret treaty with him. It was necessary to conceal this step from the senate, whom he regarded as an enemy still more untractable than Charles. This was a delicate affair; he entrusted it to the countess of Königsmark, a Swedish lady of high birth; and to whom he was at that time attached. This is the lady whose brother became so famous by his unfortunate death, and whose son commanded the French armies, with so much glory and success. This lady, celebrated in the world for her wit and beauty, was more capable than any minister to bring a negociation to a happy conclusion. Moreover as she had an estate in the dominions of Charles XII. and had lived a long time in his court, she had a plausible pretext to seek this prince. She therefore went to the Swedish camp in Lithuania, and addressed herself directly to count Piper, who too hastily promised her an audience with his master. The countess among those perfections which rendered her one of the most amiable women in Europe, had the singular talent of speaking the languages of several countries which she had never seen, with as much delicacy as if she had been born there; she even amused herself sometimes in writing French verses, which might have been mistaken for the production of a person born at Versailles. Those, she composed for Charles XII, history ought not to omit. She introduced the heathen gods, praising the different virtues of Charles. The piece concluded thus.

Enfin, chacun des dieux discourant à sa gloire,
Le plaçait par avance au temple de Memoire;
Mais Venus ni Bacchus n'en dirent pas un mot.

Nay, all the gods to sound his fame combine,
Except the deities of love and wine.

All her wit and beauty were, however, thrown away upon a man, such as the king of Sweden, who

constantly refused to see her. She therefore resolved to throw herself in his way, as he rode out to take the air, which he frequently did. She one day met him in a narrow path: she descended from her carriage as soon as she perceived him: the king made her a low bow, turned his horse about, and rode back in an instant. And this the only advantage which the countess of Königsmark gained from her journey was the satisfaction of believing that the king of Sweden feared nobody but her.

The king of Poland was now obliged to throw himself into the arms of the senate. He therefore made them two proposals, by the palatine of Marienburg, the one, that they should leave to him the disposition of the army of the republic, to whom he would pay, out of his own revenue, two quarters advance; the other, that they should permit him to bring back twelve thousand Saxons into Poland. The cardinal primate returned him an answer as severe as the refusal of the king of Sweden. He told the palatine of Marienburg, in the name of the assembly, "That they had resolved to send an embassy to Charles XII. and that he would not advise him to bring back any Saxons."

The king, in this extremity, wished to preserve the appearance at least of royal authority. He sent one of his chamberlains, on his own part, to wait upon Charles, to know from him, where and how his Swedish majesty would be pleased to receive the embassy of his master and the republic. Unluckily they had forgot to ask a passport from the Swedes for this chamberlain; the king of Sweden, therefore, instead of giving him audience, caused him to be thrown into prison, saying, "that he expected an embassy from the republic, and not from Augustus." This violation of the right of nations no law but that of a superior force could excuse.

Afterwards Charles, having left garrisons in several towns in Lithuania, advanced beyond Gródno, a town well known in Europe for the diets that are held there, but ill built, and badly fortified.

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A few miles on the other side Grodno, he encountered the embassy of the republic: it was composed of five senators; they desired in the first place, to regulate the ceremony of their introduction, a thing the king was unacquainted with: they then demanded that the republic should be stiled "most serene," and that the coaches of the king and the senators should be sent to meet them. They were answered, that the republic should be stiled "illustrious," and not "most serene," and that the king never made use of carriages; that he had many officers about him, but no senators; that a lieutenant-general should be sent to meet them, and that they might come on their own horses.

Charles XII. received them in his tent, with some appearance of military pomp; their discourse was full of caution and reserve. They remarked, that they were afraid of Charles, nor did they love Augustus, but that they were ashamed to take, by command of a stranger, the crown from a king, that they had elected. Nothing was concluded, and Charles gave them to understand, that he would settle all disputes at Warsaw.

His march was preceded by a manifesto, which the cardinal and his party spread over Poland in eight days. Charles, by this writing, invited all the Poles to join their vengeance to his, and pretended to shew them that his interest and theirs were the same. They were, however, very different, but the manifesto, supported by a great party, through the trouble of the senate, and the approach of the conqueror, made a very strong impression. They were obliged to own Charles for their protector, because he would be so, and happy was it for them, that he contented himself with this title.

The senators who opposed Augustus, published this manifesto aloud, even in his presence; the few who were attached to him observed a profound silence. At last, when they were apprized that Charles was advancing by long marches, they all prepared in the greatest confusion to depart. The cardinal quitted Warsaw among the first: the greatest part fled with
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precipitation, some retired to their estates to wait the end of this affair, while others went to arm their friends. There was nobody remained with the king, except the ambassadors of the emperor, and that of the czar, the pope's nuncio, together with a few bishops and palatines attached to his fortunes. He was obliged to fly, as there was nothing as yet decided in his favour. He hastened, before his departure, to hold a council with the small number of senators, who still represented the senate. But however zealous they were to serve him, they were nevertheless Poles; and had conceived so great an aversion to Saxon troops, that they did not dare to grant him the liberty of recalling more than six thousand men for his defence; and even voted that those should be commanded by the grand general of Poland, and sent back as soon as they had made peace. The armies of the republic, indeed, they committed to his care.

After this resolution the king quitted Warsaw, too weak to resist his enemies, and little satisfied with his own party. He immediately published orders for assembling the pospolite, and the armies, which were little more than empty names. He had nothing to hope for in Lithuania, where the Swedes then were. The army of Poland, reduced to a few troops, wanted arms, provision, and inclination to fight. The greatest part of the nobility, intimidated, irresolute, and disaffected, remained at their different estates. In vain did the king, authorized by the laws of the land, order, on pain of death, that every gentleman should mount his horse and follow him; it was become a problematical point whether they ought to obey him or not. His great resource was to the troops of the electorate, where the form of government being entirely absolute, did not leave him a doubt of their obedience. He had already secretly commanded twelve thousand Saxons to advance immediately. He likewise recalled the eight thousand men he had promised the emperor in his war against France, and whom the necessity into which he was reduced obliged him to withdraw. To introduce so many Saxons into Poland, was to revolt against his
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his subjects, and violate the law made by his own party, who allowed him only six thousand; but he knew very well, that if he was conqueror, they would not dare to complain, and if he was conquered, they would not forgive his having introduced the six thousand. At the time these soldiers were arriving in troops, and he was going from one palatinate to another to assemble the nobility who were attached to him, the king of Sweden appeared before Warsaw. At the first summons the gates were opened to him. He dismissed the Polish garrison, disbanded the city guard, established bodies of guards in every part of the town, and ordered the inhabitants to come and deliver to him their arms; but content with disarming them, and being unwilling to irritate them, he demanded a contribution of no more than one hundred thousand livres.

Augustus was at this time assembling his forces at Cracow, and was very much surprized to see the cardinal there. This man pretended to keep up the decency of his character to the very last, and endeavoured to dethrone the king, in the most respectful manner; he gave him to understand that the king of Sweden appeared disposed to listen to a reasonable accommodation, and humbly asked permission to seek him. The king granted him what he was not able to refuse; that is to say, the liberty of hurting himself.

The cardinal primate hastened immediately to find the king of Sweden, before whom he had not as yet dared to present himself. He saw this prince at Praag, near Warsaw, but without the ceremonies with which he used to receive the ambassadors of the republic. He found this conqueror dressed in a coat of coarse blue cloth, with gilt brass buttons, large boots and buff skin gloves, which came up almost to his elbows, in a chamber without tapestry, in which were his brother-in-law, the duke of Holstein, count Piper, his first minister, and several general officers. The king advanced several paces to meet the cardinal; and they had a conference together, standing, of a quarter of an hour, which Charles finished by saying aloud, "I will not give peace to the Poles, till they have elect-
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“ed another king.” The cardinal, who expected such a declaration, caused it to be immediately known to all the palatinates, assuring them of the extreme sorrow he felt at it, and representing, at the same time, the necessity there was to obey the conqueror.

At this news the king of Poland plainly perceived that he must either lose the throne, or preserve it by a battle. He exerted his utmost efforts for this great decision. All his Saxon troops were arrived from the Saxon frontiers, and the nobility of the palatinate of Cracow, where he still was, came in a body to offer him their services. He exhorted each of these gentlemen to remember their oaths, and they promised to shed the last drop of their blood to support him. Fortified by their support, and the troops, who bore the name of the army of the crown, he went for the first time, to seek, in person, the king of Sweden, whom he presently found advancing towards Cracow.

The two kings met on the 13th of July, in the year 1702, in a vast plain near Clissau, between Warsaw and Cracow. Augustus had near twenty four thousand men, while Charles had no more than twelve thousand. The battle began by a general discharge of the artillery. At the first volley the Saxons made, the duke of Holstein, who commanded the Swedish cavalry, a young prince of courage and virtue, received a cannon ball in his reins. The king asked if he was killed, and was told yes; he said nothing; some tears fell from his eyes; and he held his hand up to his face for a moment: when all of a sudden, he spurred his horse with all his might, and rushed into the midst of the enemy at the head of his guards.

The king of Poland did every thing that could be expected from a prince who fought for his crown. He led his troops himself three times to the charge; but he had only the Saxons to fight with; for the Poles, who formed his right wing, all fled at the commencement of the battle, some through fear, and others through disaffection. The good fortune of Charles carried

carried all before it; and gained him a complete victory. He took possession of the enemy's camp, their colours and artillery, as also Augustus's military chest. He did not stop in the field of battle, but marched directly to Cracow, pursuing the king of Poland, who fled before him.

The citizens of Cracow were hardy enough to shut their gates against the conqueror. They were, however, broke open, and the garrison did not dare to fire a single gun, but were driven with whips and canes into the castle, where the king entered with them. An officer of the artillery going to let off a cannon, which Charles perceived, snatched the match out of his hand; the commander threw himself on his knees before the king. Three Swedish regiments were quartered at discretion among the citizens, and the town taxed with a contribution of an hundred thousand rix-dollars. The count de Steinbock, who was made governor of the town, having been told that there were some treasures hid in the tombs of the kings of Poland, which are the church of St. Nicholas, at Cracow, had them opened, but found nothing but some ornaments of gold and silver, which belonged to the churches, of which, however, he took a part; and Charles even sent a gold cup to one of the Swedish churches, which would have raised the Polish catholics against him, could any thing have prevailed against the terror of his arms.

He departed from Cracow, with a fixed resolution to pursue the king of Poland without ceasing: but a few miles from the town, his horse fell, and broke his thigh bone. He was obliged to be carried back to Cracow, where he was confined to his bed for six weeks, in the hand of his surgeons. This accident gave Augustus a little respite; he immediately caused it to be reported throughout Poland and Germany, that Charles XII. was killed by this fall. This false report, believed for some time, threw every mind into astonishment and apprehension. In this short interval, he assembled at Marienburg, and then at Lublin, all the orders of the king-

kingdom before convoked at Sendemir. This assembly was very numerous; few of the palatinates refusing to send their deputies thither. He regained almost every heart by presents and promises, and that affability, so necessary to absolute kings, to make themselves beloved, and to elected kings, to enable them to maintain their throne. The diet was soon undeceived, with regard to the false report of the death of the king of Sweden: but motion having been given to this great body, it suffered itself to be carried along by the impulse it had received: all the members swearing to continue faithful to their sovereign; so much are great assemblies given to change. The cardinal primate himself, affecting still to be attached to Augustus, came to the diet of Lublin, where he kissed the king's hand, and did not refuse to take the oath with the rest. The oath was, that they had never attempted, nor ever would attempt any thing against Augustus. The king excused the cardinal from the first part of the oath, and the prelate blushed when he swore to the last. The result of this diet was, that the republic of Poland should maintain an army of fifty thousand men, at their own expence, for the use of their sovereign: that they should give six weeks to the Swedes to declare either for peace or war; and the same time to the princes of Sapiaha, the first authors of the troubles in Lithuania, to come and ask pardon of the king of Poland.

But, during these deliberations, Charles recovered of his wound, and overturned every thing before him. Always firm in the design of forcing the Poles to dethrone their king, with their own hands, he caused a new assembly to be convoked at Warsaw, through the intrigues of the cardinal primate, to oppose that of Lublin. His generals represented to him, that this affair might be attended with endless delays, and prove ineffectual at last; that in the mean time, the Muscovites were strengthening themselves every day against the troops he had left in Livonia and Ingria: that the skirmishes which often happened in those provinces, be-

between the Swedes and the Russians, were not always attended with advantage to the former: and lastly, that his presence there might very soon be necessary. Charles, as unshaken in his projects, as strong in his actions, replied, "Should I be obliged to stay here fifty years, I will not depart till I have dethroned the king of Poland."

He left the assembly of Warsaw to combat, by their orations and writings, that of Lublin; and to seek to justify their proceedings by the laws of the kingdom: laws always equivocal, which each party interprets to his own interest, and which success alone renders incontestible. As for himself, having increased his victorious troops with six thousand horse, and eight thousand foot, which he had received from Sweden, he marched against the remainder of the Saxon army, which he had beat at Clissa, and which had had time to rally and recruit, while his fall from his horse had confined him to his bed. This army shunned his approach, and retired towards Prussia, to the north west of Warsaw. The river Bug was between him and his enemies. Charles swam across it at the head of his cavalry, whilst the infantry sought a ford somewhat higher. They came up with the Saxons the first of May 1703, at a place called Pultesk. General Stenau commanded them to the number of about ten thousand. The king of Sweden, in his precipitate march, had no more than the same number, certain that a less number would suffice. The terror of his arms was so great, that one half of the Saxon troops fled at his approach, without giving him battle. General Stenau stood, indeed, for a moment, with two regiments; but presently after was obliged to join in the general flight of his army, which was dispersed before it was conquered. The Swedes did not take more than a thousand prisoners, nor kill more than six hundred; having more difficulty to pursue than to defeat them.

Augustus having nothing but the remains of his Saxons, who were beaten on every side, retired in haste to Thorn, an ancient town of Royal Prussia, situated on
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the Vistula, and under the protection of the Poles, Charles immediately prepared to besiege it; and the king of Poland, who did not think himself secure, retired, and flew into every corner of Poland, where he could possibly assemble any soldiers, and into which the Swedes had not penetrated. In the mean time, Charles, amidst so many rapid marches, swimming across rivers, and hurried along with his infantry mounted behind his cannon, had not been able to bring up his cannon before Thorn, and was obliged to wait till it came from Sweden, by sea.

While he was posted here, a few miles from the town, he would often advance too nigh the ramparts, for the purpose of reconnoitering the enemy. The plain dress which he always wore, was, in these dangerous excursions, of more utility than he was aware of; as it prevented his being remarked and singled out by his enemies, who would have fired upon his person. One day, having advanced too near, with one of his generals, named Lieven, who was dressed in a blue coat trimmed with gold; and being afraid that the general would be too easily distinguished, he ordered him to walk behind him; prompted to it by that magnanimity which was so natural to him, and which prevented him from reflecting, that he exposed his own life to imminent danger, to save that of his subject. Lieven saw too late his error in putting on a remarkable dress, which endangered all those who were near him; and fearing equally for the king, in any place whatever, hesitated whether he should obey him: in the midst of this contest, the king took him by the arm, and placing himself before him, entirely screened him; but at this instant, a volley of cannon which came in flank, struck the general dead, on the spot which the king had scarcely quitted. The death of this man, killed exactly in his stead, and because he had endeavoured to save him, contributed not a little to confirm him in the opinion, which he entertained throughout his life, of an absolute predestination; and made him believe, that his fate, which had preserved him in so singular a manner,

manner, had reserved him for the execution of greater things yet.

Every thing succeeded with him: his negotiations and his arms were equally happy. He was present, as it were, in every part of Poland: for his grand general Renschild was in the heart of the kingdom, with a large body of troops: About thirty thousand Swedes, under different generals, were pointed to the north and east, upon the frontiers of Muscovy, and withstood the efforts of the whole Russian empire: and Charles himself was in the west, at the other end of Poland, at the head of his choicest troops.

The king of Denmark, tied up by the treaty of Truvendal, which his weakness had prevented him from breaking, remained silent. This monarch, always prudent, did not dare to discover his disgust, at seeing the king of Sweden so near his dominions. At a greater distance towards the south west, lay the duchy of Bremen, between the rivers Elbe and Weser, the most remote territory of the ancient Saxon conquest; filled with garrison forts, and opening to the conqueror a free passage into Saxony and the empire. Thus, from the German ocean, almost to the mouth of Boristhenes, comprehending the whole breadth of Europe, and even to the gates of Muscovy, all was in consternation, and on the point of a general revolution. Charles's ships, masters of the Baltic sea, were employed to transport into Sweden the prisoners he had made in Poland. Sweden, tranquil in the midst of these great commotions, enjoyed a profound peace, and shared in the glory of its king, without bearing the burden of war; as the victorious troops were paid and maintained at the expence of the conquered.

In this general silence of the north, before the arms of Charles XII. the town of Dantzick dared to displease him. Fourteen frigates and forty transports, were bringing the king a reinforcement of six thousand men, with cannon and ammunition, to begin the siege of Thorn. It was necessary for these succours to pass the Vistula. At the mouth of this river is Dantzick, a free and wealthy town, which enjoys, with Thorn and

Elbing, the same privileges in Poland, that the imperial towns possess in Germany. Its liberty has been alternately attacked by the Danes, the Swedes, and several princes of Germany, and nothing has preserved it, but the mutual jealousy of those powers. Count Steinbock, one of the Swedish generals, assembled the magistrates in the king's name, and demanded passage for the troops and ammunition. The magistrates, by an imprudence common to those who treat with a superior power, was afraid either to refuse, or absolutely to grant his request. The general, however, obliged them to grant him more than he had at first demanded: and even laid the town under a contribution of a hundred crowns, by which means he made them pay for their imprudent hesitation. At last the reinforcement, cannon, and ammunition, having arrived before Thorn, they began the siege the 22d of September.

Robel, governor of this place, defended it for a month, with five thousand men in garrison; at the end of which time, he was obliged to surrender at discretion. The garrison was made prisoners of war, and sent into Sweden. Robel was presented to the king, unarmed. That prince, who never lost an opportunity of honouring merit, even in his enemies, gave him a sword with his own hand, made him a considerable present in money, and dismissed him on his parole. But the poor and paltry town was condemned to pay forty thousand crowns, an excessive contribution for such a place.

Elbing, built on an arm of the Weiffel, founded by the Teutonic knights, and annexed likewise to Poland, did not profit by the fault of the Dantzickers, but hesitated too long about giving passage to the troops. It was, however, still more severely punished than Dantzick. Charles entered Elbing the 13th of December, at the head of four thousand men, with bayonets fixed to the ends of their fuses. The inhabitants, struck with terror, threw themselves on their knees in the streets, and begged for mercy. He had them all disarmed, quartered his soldiers upon the citizens,

citizens, and then, having assembled the magistracy, he exacted, that very day, a contribution of two hundred and sixty thousand crowns; there were in the town two hundred pieces of cannon, and four hundred thousand weight of powder, which he seized. A battle gained could not have procured him so many advantages. All these successes were the fore-runners to the dethroning the king of Poland.

Scarce had the cardinal sworn to his king, that he would attempt nothing against him, than he repaired to the assembly at Warlaw, always under the pretext of peace. He arrived, speaking of nothing but of concord and obedience, though he was accompanied by a number of soldiers which he had raised on his own estate. At last he threw off the mask, and on the 14th of February, 1704, in the name of the assembly, declared "Augustus, elector of Saxony, incapable of wearing the crown of Poland." They all pronounced, with one voice, the throne to be vacant. The wish of the king of Sweden, and consequently that of the diet, was to give to prince James Sobiesky the throne of the king his father, king John. James Sobiesky was, at this time, at Breslaw, in Silesia, waiting with impatience for the crown which his father had wore. He was one day hunting, with prince Constantine, one of his brothers, a few miles from Breslaw: when thirty Saxon horsemen, secretly sent by king Augustus, rushing suddenly out of a neighbouring wood, surrounded the two princes, and carried them off without resistance. Fresh horses had been prepared, on which they were conducted to Lipsick, and there closely confined. This stroke deranged the measures of Charles, the cardinal, and the whole assembly of Warlaw.

Fortune, who sports with crowned heads, placed, almost at the same instant, Augustus in a situation of being nearly taken himself. He was at table, three leagues from Cracow, relying upon an advanced guard, posted at some distance, when general Renschild appeared, after having carried off this guard. The king of Poland had but just time to mount his horse with

ten others. General Renschild pursued him for three days, on the point of seizing him every moment. The king fled as far as Sendomir, the Swedish general still pursuing him; and it was only by singular good-fortune that this prince escaped.

During all this time Augustus's party and that of the cardinal treated each other as traitors. The army of the crown was divided between these two factions. Augustus, at last, forced to accept of support from the Muscovites, repented that he had not had recourse to them sooner. One time he fled into Saxony, where his resources were weak; then he returned to Poland, where no one durst assist him. On the other hand, the king of Sweden, victorious and tranquil, reigned, in a manner, over Poland.

Count Piper, who had a mind turned to politics, as his master's was to war, now proposed to Charles XII. that he should himself take the crown of Poland. He represented to him how easy it might be done, with a victorious army, and a powerful party in the heart of the kingdom already subdued. He tempted him with the title of "defender of the evangelic religion," a name which flattered the ambition of Charles. It would be easy, he said, to do in Poland what Gustavus Vasa had done in Sweden; that of establishing Lutheranism; and to break the chains of the people, already enslaved by the nobility and clergy. Charles was tempted for a moment; but glory was his idol. To that he sacrificed his own interest, and the pleasure he would have enjoyed in taking Poland from the Pope. He told count Piper, that he was more flattered by giving than gaining kingdoms: and added, smiling, "you was intended for the minister of "an Italian prince."

Charles was still near Thorn, in that part of Royal Prussia which belongs to Poland; from thence he extended his views to what was passing at Warsaw, and kept the neighbouring powers in awe. Prince Alexander, brother of the two Sobieskies, who were carried into Silesia, came and implored his assistance, to re-
venge

venge his wrongs. Charles granted his request so much the more readily, as he imagined he could revenge himself at the same time. But impatient to give a king to Poland, he proposed to prince Alexander his mounting the throne, from which fortune seemed determined to exclude his brother. Charles little expected a refusal; but prince Alexander told him that nothing should ever engage him to profit by the misfortunes of his elder brother. The king of Sweden, count Piper, all his friends, and particularly the young palatine of Posnania, Stanislaus Leczinsky, pressed him to accept the crown: he was resolute. The neighbouring princes heard with astonishment this uncommon refusal, and knew not which to admire most, a king of Sweden, who at twenty-two years of age gave away the crown of Poland, or prince Alexander, who refused it.

B O O K III.

A R G U M E N T.

Stanislaus Leczinsky elected King of Poland: Death of the Cardinal Primate.—Skilful Retreat of General Schulenburg:—Exploits of the Czar.—Foundation of Petersburg.—Battle of Fravenstad.—Charles enters Saxony.—Peace of Atranstad.—Augustus abdicates the Crown in Favour of Stanislaus.—General Patkul, the Czar's Plenipotentiary, is broke upon the Wheel, and quartered.—Charles receives the Ambassadors of foreign Princes in Saxony: and goes to Dresden, to visit Augustus, before his Departure.

YOUNG Stanislaus Leczinsky was at this time deputed by the assembly of Warsaw to make a report to the King of Sweden of several differences which had arisen, during the absence of prince James. Stanislaus had a happy countenance, full of boldness and sweetness, with an air of probity and frankness, which of all

external advantages, is the greatest; and gives more force to words than even eloquence itself. The manner in which he discoursed of the king Augustus, the assembly, the cardinal-primate, and of the different interests which divided Poland, struck Charles. King Stanislaus did me the honour to relate to me, that he said to the king of Sweden in Latin, "How can we proceed to an election, if the two princes, James and Constantine Sobiesky are captives?" And that Charles made answer, "How can we deliver the republic, if we do not make an election?" This conversation was the only intrigue that placed Stanislaus on the throne. Charles prolonged the conference, that he might the better sound the genius of the young deputy. After the audience, he said aloud, that till then he had not seen a man so proper to reconcile all parties. He made no delay in informing himself of the character of the palatine Leczinsky. He learnt that he was full of bravery, and inured to fatigue: that he accustomed himself to sleep on a straw mattress, and would not have any of his domesticks to attend his person; that he observed a temperance not common to that climate, had great oeconomy, was adored by his vassals, and the only lord, perhaps, in Poland, who had any friends, at a time when men acknowledged no ties but those of interest and faction. This character, which in several things accorded with his own, determined him entirely; and at the end of the conference he said aloud: "There is the man that shall always be my friend." Which words, they soon perceived, signified, "There is the man that shall be king."

When the primate of Poland found that Charles XII. had nominated the palatine Leczinsky, as Alexander had nominated Abdalonimus, he repaired to the king of Sweden, to endeavour to make him change this resolution: as he wished to give the crown to one Lubomirsky. "But what have you to alledge against Stanislaus Leczinsky?" said the conqueror. "Sire," said the primate, "he is too young." To which the king drily replied, "He wants but little of my age;"
turned

turned his back upon the prelate, and immediately sent the count de Hoorn to signify to the assembly of Warsaw, that it was necessary to elect a king, in five days, and that they must also elect Stanislaus Leczinsky. The count de Hoorn arrived the 7th of July, and fixed the day of election on the 12th, in the same manner as he would have ordered the decampment of a battalion. The cardinal primate, disappointed of the fruit of so many intrigues, returned to the assembly, and exerted his whole strength to set aside an election, in which he had no part. But the king of Sweden arriving at Warsaw inognito, obliged him for that time to be silent. All that the primate could now do, was not to be present at the election; and as he could neither oppose the conqueror, nor was willing to second him, he confined himself to an useless neutrality.

Saturday, the 12th of July, the day fixed for the election, being come, they assembled at three o'clock in the afternoon at Colo, the place appointed for this ceremony: the bishop of Posnania came and presided at the assembly in the place of the cardinal primate. He arrived attended by several gentlemen of the party. The count de Hoorn and two other general officers assisted publicly at this solemnity, as ambassadors extraordinary from Charles to the republic. The session lasted till nine in the evening; when the bishop of Posnania finished it by declaring, in the name of the diet, Stanislaus elected king of Poland: they instantly threw up their hats into the air, and the noise of their acclamations drowned the cries of the opposers.

It was of no service to the cardinal primate, or to those who were willing to remain neuter, to absent themselves from the election: they were obliged, the next day, to attend and perform homage to their new king: but the greatest mortification they underwent, was that of being compelled to follow him to the quarters of the king of Sweden. That prince rendered, to the sovereign he had just made, all the honours due to a king of Poland: and to give a greater weight to his new dignity, he assigned him both money and troops.

Charles XII. departed immediately from Warsaw, to finish the conquest of Poland. He had ordered his army to rendezvous before Leopold, the capital of the great palatinate of Russia, a place important in itself, and still more so by the riches with which it was filled. It was imagined that it would have held out fifteen days, on account of the fortifications which Augustus had built there. The conqueror sat down before it on the 5th of September, and the next day took it by assault. All who dared to resist were put to the sword. The troops, victorious and masters of the town, did not separate themselves to run to pillage, notwithstanding the great treasures which were in Leopold. They arranged themselves in order of battle in the great square. There, those who remained in the garrison came and rendered themselves prisoners of war. The king caused it to be published, by the sound of trumpet, that all those inhabitants, who had any effects belonging to Augustus or his adherents, should bring them to him before the close of the day, on pain of death. The measures were so well taken that few dared to disobey; and four hundred chests, filled with gold and silver coin, plate, and other valuable, things were brought to the king.

The beginning of the reign of Stanislaus was distinguished almost at the same time by an event widely different. Some affairs which absolutely demanded his presence, had obliged him to remain at Warsaw. He had with him his mother, his wife, and two daughters. The cardinal primate, the bishop of Posen, and some grandees of Poland, composed his new court. It was guarded by six thousand Poles, of the army of the crown, who had lately entered into his service, but whose fidelity had not as yet been proved. General Hoorn, governor of the town, had not more than fifteen hundred Swedes with him. There was a profound tranquillity at Warsaw, and Stanislaus proposed to depart in a few days for the conquest of Leopold: when, all on a sudden, he was informed, that a numerous army was approaching the town: it was king Augustus,

Augustus, who by a new effort, and one of the most skilful marches that ever general made, had escaped the king of Sweden, and was come with twenty thousand men to fall upon Warsaw, and to carry off his rival.

Warsaw was not fortified; the Polish troops, who were to defend it, were not to be relied on; and Augustus having spies in the town, Stanislaus would have perished had he remained there. He accordingly sent back his family into Posenania, under a guard of Polish troops; such as he had most confidence in. He imagined that he had lost his second daughter, about a year old, in the disorder; but she was carried off by her nurse, and afterwards found in a manger, where she had abandoned it, in a neighbouring village: as I have heard Stanislaus himself say. This is the same child, whom destiny, after many vicissitudes, has since crowned queen of France. Several gentlemen took different roads; as for the new king, he immediately set out to find Charles XII. learning at an early period to suffer disgrace, and forced to quit the capital, of which he had been, but six weeks before, elected sovereign.

Augustus entered the capital, like a sovereign irritated and victorious. The inhabitants, already taxed by the king of Sweden, were still more so by Augustus. The cardinal's palace, and all the houses of the confederate lords, with all their wealth, both in town and country, were given to pillage. And what was the most surprizing in this sudden revolution, was, that the pope's nuncio, who came with the king of Sweden, demanded, in the name of his master, that they should deliver up to him the bishop of Posenania, as subject to the church of Rome, in the quality of a bishop, and the favourer of a prince, placed on the throne by the arms of a Lutheran.

The court of Rome, who has always strove to augment its temporal power by the favour of its spiritual, had a long time since established in Poland a kind of jurisdiction, at the head of which is the pope's nuncio. Its ministers never let slip any favourable opportunity
to

to extend their power; a power revered by the multitude, but always opposed by those of more wisdom. They attributed to themselves a right to judge of all ecclesiastical causes; and, in times of trouble, had usurped several other prerogatives, in which they maintained themselves till about the year 1728, when these abuses were corrected; abuses, such as are never reformed, till they become absolutely intolerable. King Augustus, happy that he could punish the bishop of Posen with decency, and at the same time please the court of Rome, against whom he would, at any other time, have opposed himself, delivered the popish prelate into the hands of the nuncio. The bishop, after beholding his house pillaged, was carried by the soldiers to the house of the Italian minister, and from thence sent into Saxony, where he died. Count de Hoorn sustained in the castle, where he was shut up, the continual fire of the enemy; till the place being no longer able to hold out, he surrendered himself prisoner of war, together with his fifteen hundred Swedes. This was the first advantage that Augustus had, during the torrent of his bad fortune, over the victorious arms of his enemy.

This last effort was the blaze of a fire that was just going out. His troops, who were assembled in haste, consisted of Poles, ready to abandon him on the first disgrace; of Saxon recruits, who had never till then seen any thing of a battle; of vagabond cossacks, more fit to distress the conquered than to conquer: and all of whom trembled at the very name of the king of Sweden.

That conqueror, accompanied by king Stanislaus, went to seek his enemy, at the head of his choicest troops. The Saxon army fled every where before him. The towns, for thirty miles round, sent him their keys: nor was there a day which was not signalized by some advantage. Success became too familiar to Charles. He compared it more to the chase than to that of a battle; and complained that he could not purchase a victory on harder terms.

Augustus

Augustus entrusted the command of his army, for some time, to count de Schullembourg, a very able general, but who had need of all his experience, at the head of a dispirited army. He studied more to preserve his master's troops, than to conquer. He fought, by stratagem, the two kings with strength. He stole several marches upon them, took possession of some advantageous posts, and sacrificed a few of his artillery, to give his infantry time to make a sure retreat. By such masterly retreats, he saved his troops from an enemy, with whom had he engaged, he could not possibly have acquired any other glory.

Scarcely was he arrived in the palatinate of Posnania, when he learned, that the two kings, whom he imagined fifty leagues off, had marched those fifty leagues in nine days. He had but eight thousand foot, and a thousand horse: when he was obliged to support himself against a superior army, against the name of the king of Sweden, and against the natural fear with which so many defeats had naturally inspired the Saxons. He had always maintained, against the opinions of the German generals, that infantry was able to resist cavalry in the open field, even without the assistance of chevaux de frize; and he this day made the experiment against a victorious cavalry, commanded by the two kings, and by the choicest of the Swedish generals. He posted himself so advantageously that he could not be surrounded. The first rank, armed with pikes and fusées, knelt with one knee upon the ground: and the soldiers, placed closely together, presented to the enemy's horse a kind of rampart, pointed with pikes and bayonets: the second rank inclined a little over the shoulders of the first; and the third, standing upright, fired at the same time, from behind the other two. The Swedes, with their usual impetuosity, pressed down upon the Saxons, who expected them with firmness: the fire of the fusées, together with the points of the pikes and bayonets, maddened the horses, who began to rear, instead of advancing. By these means, the
Swedes

Swedes were thrown into disorder, and the Saxons defended themselves by keeping their ranks.

He formed his men into an oblong square; and though he was wounded in five places, he, in this form, maintained an orderly retreat, in the middle of the night, into the little town of Gurau, about three leagues from the field of battle:—But he had scarcely begun to breathe in this place, when the two kings suddenly appeared after him.

Beyond Gurau, in marching towards the river Oder, was a thick wood, by leading them through which, the Saxon general saved his fatigued infantry. The Swedes, without hesitation, pursued them through the wood, advancing with difficulty through paths, scarce passable by foot travellers. The Saxons had not crossed the wood above five hours before the Swedish cavalry. On the other side of this wood runs the river Parts, at the foot of a village named Rutsen. Schullembourg had sent for boats to be immediately assembled, who carried over his troops, of which half were destroyed. Charles arrived at the time that Schullembourg had reached the opposite shore. Never did a conqueror pursue his enemy so vigorously. The reputation of Schullembourg depended upon his escaping from the king of Sweden: the king of Sweden, on his side, imagined his glory interested in taking Schullembourg, and the remains of his army: he lost no time; but made his cavalry cross at a ford. The Saxons found themselves shut up between this river of Parts, and the great river of Oder, which takes its source in Silesia, and is very deep and rapid at this place.

The destruction of Schullembourg appeared inevitable; yet, notwithstanding, he passed the Oder in the night, after having sacrificed a few of his soldiers to the enemy. In this manner did he save his army; and Charles could not prevent himself from saying “to-day, Schullembourg has conquered us.”

This is the same Schullembourg who was afterwards general of the Venetians, and to whom the republic has erected a statue in Corfu, for his having defended
that

that bulwark of Italy against the Turks. It is republics alone that confer such honours, kings give nothing but rewards.

But what was glory to Schullembourg was of no use to king Augustus; that prince abandoned Poland once more to his enemies: he retired into Saxony, and prepared with precipitation the fortifications of Dresden; being afraid, and not without reason, for the capital of his hereditary dominions.

Charles XII. now beheld Poland reduced to subjection: and his generals, following their king's example, had just beat, in Courland, several small bodies of the Muscovites, who, since the great battle of Narva, had only shewn themselves in small parties, and made war in those quarters like the vagabond Tartars, who pillage, fly, and then return only to fly again.

Wherever the Swedes came they imagined themselves sure of a victory, even when they were only twenty to an hundred. At this happy conjuncture, Stanislaus prepared for his coronation. Fortune, who had elected him at Warsaw, and who had also driven him thence, again recalled him thither, amidst the acclamations of a crowd of nobility, whom the fate of war had attached to him. A diet was there convened, and every obstacle removed; nor were there any but the court of Rome who opposed him.

It was natural for Rome to declare for the king Augustus, who, from a protestant, was become a catholic, that he might mount the throne against Stanislaus, placed on the same throne by the great enemy of the catholic religion. Clement XI. at that time pope, sent briefs to every prelate of Poland, and above all to the cardinal primate; by which he threatened excommunication to those who dared to assist at the consecration of Stanislaus, or attempt any thing against the rights of the king Augustus.

If these briefs were delivered to the bishops who were at Warsaw, it was believed that some would obey through weakness, and that the greater part, availing them-

themselves of the circumstance, would render themselves more troublesome, as they were the more necessary. They therefore took every precaution, that the letters of the pope should not be received in Warsaw. However, a Franciscan received the briefs secretly, in order that he might deliver them into the proper prelates hands. He immediately gave one to the suffragan of Aulm: this prelate, who was strongly attached to Stanislaus, carried it to the king unopened. The king had the monk brought to him, and asked him how he durst take charge of such a business. The Franciscan replied, that it was by order of his general. Stanislaus desired him, for the future, to mind the orders of his king, in preference to those of the general of the Franciscans; and, from that moment, banished him the town.

The same day a placart was published by the king of Sweden, by which it was forbidden, under the most grievous penalties, to all ecclesiastics, secular as well as regular, then in Warsaw, to meddle with the affairs of state. For greater security, he had guards planted at the gates of every prelate, and forbid any stranger to enter the town. He took upon himself these little severities, in order that Stanislaus should not quarrel with the clergy at his accession. He said, that he relaxed himself from his military fatigues, in stopping the intrigues of the Romish court, and that he must fight against that with paper, when he was obliged to attack other sovereigns with real arms.

The cardinal primate was solicited by Charles and Stanislaus to come and perform the ceremony of the coronation. But as he did not imagine himself obliged to quit Dantzick, to consecrate a king, who he did not wish to have been elected: and as his policy was never to do any thing without a pretext, he resolved to provide a lawful excuse for his refusal. He therefore caused the pope's brief to be fixed in the night time to the gate of his own house. The magistrates of Dantzick, struck with the indignity, made strict search after the offenders, but they were never found. The Primate
feigned

feigned to be irritated, but nevertheless was well satisfied. He had now a pretext for not consecrating the new king; and at the same time kept fair with Charles XII, Augustus, Stanislaus, and the Pope. He died a few days after, leaving his country in a dreadful confusion, and had gained nothing by all his intrigues, but that of embroiling himself at once with the three kings, Charles, Augustus, and Stanislaus, with his republic, and with the pope, who had ordered him to repair to Rome, to give an account of his conduct: but as even politicians have sometimes remorse in their last moments, he wrote to king Augustus on his death-bed beseeching his pardon.

The consecration was performed with tranquillity and magnificence the 4th of October, 1705, in the city of Warsaw; notwithstanding the custom which is in Poland, of crowning the kings at Cracow. Stanislaus Leczinsky, and his wife Charlotta Opalinska, were consecrated king and queen of Poland, by the hands of the archbishop of Leopold, assisted by several other prelates. Charles XII. saw the ceremony in cognito, the only advantage he reaped from his conquests.

In the mean time that he gave a king to the conquered Poles, and Denmark did not dare to trouble him: while the king of Prussia sought his friendship, and Augustus was retired to his hereditary dominions, the czar was becoming every day more and more formidable. He had but weakly supported Augustus in Poland; yet he had made powerful diversions in Ingria.

As for him, he not only begun to be a good soldier himself, but he likewise communicated the art of war to the Muscovites: discipline was established throughout his troops; he had good engineers, an artillery well served, and many good officers; and he likewise knew the great art of subsisting his armies. Some of his generals had learned both how to fight, and, as occasion required, to decline fighting: besides, he had formed a navy capable of making head against the Swedes in the Baltic.

Strengthened

Strengthened by all these advantages, entirely owing to his own genius, and the absence of the king of Sweden, he took Narva, by assault, the 21st of August, in the year 1704, after a regular siege, and after he had prevented its receiving any succours, either by sea or land. The soldiers, once masters of the town, ran to pillage; and abandoned themselves to the most enormous barbarities. The czar ran on every side to stop the disorder and massacre; he snatched the women from the hands of the soldiers, who, after they had violated them, were going to cut their throats. He was even obliged to kill with his own hand several Muscovites, who would not obey his orders. They shew at Narva, in the town-house, the table upon which he laid his sword as he entered; and they repeat the words with which he addressed the citizens, who were assembled there: "It is not with the blood of
 " the inhabitants that this sword is stained, but with
 " that of the Muscovites, which I have shed, to save
 " your lives."

If the czar had always observed this humanity, he had been the first of men. He aspired to more than to destroy towns: he, at that time, was founding a city not far from Narva, in the middle of his new conquests; this was the city of Petersburg, which he has since made his residence, and the centre of commerce. It is situated between Finland and Ingria, in a marshy island, around which the Neva divides itself into several branches, before it falls into the gulf of Finland: he himself drew the plan of the city, the fortress, and the harbour, the quays which embellish it, and the forts which defend its entrance. This island, uncultivated and desert, which was nothing but a heap of mud, during the short summer of those climates, and in the winter, a frozen pool, into which there was no entry, but through pathless woods, and deep morasses, and which had, till then, been the haunt of wolves and bears, was filled in 1703, with above three hundred thousand men, which the czar had assembled from his dominions. The peasants of the kingdom of Astracan, and those
 who

who inhabit the frontiers of China, were transported to Petersburg. He was obliged to clear forests, to make roads, to drain marshes, and to raise banks, before he could lay the foundation of the city. Nature was forced in every thing. The czar was resolute to people a country, which did not appear to be destined for men; neither the inundations which razed his works, the sterility of the soil, the ignorance of the workmen, nor even the mortality, which destroyed two hundred thousand men in the beginning, could make him change his resolution. The town was founded among the obstacles which nature, the genius of the people, and an unhappy war, had raised against it. Petersburg was become a city in 1705, and its harbour was filled with ships. The emperor attracted strangers by his beneficence, distributing lands to some, giving houses to others, and encouraging every artist that came to civilize this savage climate. Above all, he had rendered Petersburg inaccessible to the efforts of his enemies. The Swedish generals, who frequently beat his troops in every other quarter, was not able to hurt this infant colony. It was tranquil in the midst of the war which surrounded it.

The czar, thus creating to himself new dominions, always held out his hand to Augustus, who was losing his; he persuaded him, by general Patkul, who had lately entered into the service of Muscovy, and was then the czar's ambassador in Saxony, to come to Grodno, to confer with him once more, on the unhappy state of his affairs. Augustus came there with some troops, accompanied by general Schullemburgh, whose passage over the Oder had rendered famous through the north, and in whom he placed his last hope. The czar arrived there also, followed by an army of 70,000 men. These two monarchs concerted new plans for carrying on the war. Augustus being dethroned, was no longer afraid of irritating the Poles, by abandoning their country to the Muscovite troops. It was resolved that the army of the czar should divide itself into several bodies, to stop the king of Sweden at every step. It was at the time of this interview that Augustus renewed the order

of the white eagle, a weak resource to attach to his interest some Polish lords, more desirous of real advantages, than of an empty honour, which becomes ridiculous when it is held of a prince who has nothing but a name. The conference of the two kings finished in an extraordinary manner. The czar departed suddenly, and left his troops with his ally, to hasten and crush a rebellion, with which he was threatened in Astracan. Scarce was he gone, before Augustus ordered Patkul to be arrested at Dresden. All Europe was surprized that he dared, against the law of nations, and in appearance against his own interest, to throw into prison the ambassador of the only prince who could protect him.

The secret spring of this transaction, as marshal Saxe, son to the king Augustus, did me the honour to tell me, was as follows: Patkul, proscribed in Sweden for having defended the privileges of Livonia, his native country, had been general to Augustus; but his high and lofty spirit could but ill accord with the haughtiness of general Fleming, favorite of the king, who was more imperious and lofty than himself; he therefore passed into the service of the czar, whose general he then was, and his ambassador at the court of Augustus. Possessed with a penetrating genius, he plainly perceived that the views of Fleming and the chancellor of Saxony were to propose a peace to the king of Sweden, at any price whatsoever. He immediately formed a design to prevent them, and to effect an accommodation between the czar and Sweden. The chancellor discovered his project, and obtained leave to seize his person. The king of Sweden told the czar that he was a perfidious wretch, who might betray them both. He was, however, no farther culpable than in having served his new master too well; but an ill-timed service frequently meets with the punishment due to treason.

In the mean time, on one side, the sixty thousand Russians, divided into several small bodies, were burning and ravaging the lands of Stanislaus's adherents; while

while on the other, Schullemburgh was advancing with fresh troops. The fortune of the Swedes dispersed these two armies in less than two months. Charles XII. and Stanislaus attacked the separate bodies of the Muscovites, one after the other, with such spirit, that one Muscovite general was beat before he heard of the defeat of his companion.

No obstacle could stop the conqueror: if he found a river between him and the enemy, Charles and his Swedes swam across it. A party of the Swedes took the baggage of Augustus, in which were two hundred thousand crowns of silver. Stanislaus seized eight hundred thousand ducats belonging to prince Menzikoff, the muscovite general. Charles, at the head of his cavalry, marched thirty miles in twenty four hours; every soldier leading a horse in his hand, to mount when his own was weary. The Muscovites, terrified, and reduced to a small number, fled in disorder beyond Borishené.

While Charles was driving the Muscovites before him, even into the very heart of Livonia, Schullemburgh repassed the Oder, and came at the head of twenty thousand men, to give battle to the grand marshal Renschild, who was esteemed the best general of Charles XII. and was called the Parmenio of this Alexander of the North. These two illustrious generals, who seemed to participate of the destiny of their masters, encountered each other near Punitz, in a place called Fravenstad, a spot already fatal to the troops of Augustus. Renschild had but thirteen battalions, and twenty two squadrons, which made in all about ten thousand men. Schullemburgh had double that number. It is remarkable, that he had in his army a body of six or seven thousand Muscovites, who had been long disciplined, and were looked upon as good soldiers. The battle of Fravenstad was fought the 12th of February, 1706; but this very general Schullemburgh, who, with four thousand men, had, in some measure, baffled the fortune of the king of Sweden, sunk under that of general Renschild. The combat did not last a

quarter of an hour. The Saxons did not resist a moment; and the Muscovites threw down their arms as soon as they saw the Swedes: the panic was so sudden, and the disorder so great, that the conquerors found on the field of battle, seven thousand loaded fuses, which the enemy had thrown down without firing. Never was defeat more sudden, more compleat, or more disgraceful; and yet no general ever made a finer disposition than Schullemburgh, even in the opinion of the Swedish generals, as well as the Saxons; who saw in this day how little human prudence is mistress of events.

Among the prisoners, they found an entire regiment of French. These unfortunate men had been taken by the Saxon troops, in 1704, at the famous battle of Hochstedt, so fatal to the grandeur of Louis XIV. They had entered since that into the service of king Augustus, who had formed them into a regiment of dragoons, and had given the command to a Frenchman of the house of Joyeuse. The colonel was killed, at the first, or rather the only charge of the Swedes, and the whole regiment was made prisoners of war. The same day these Frenchmen begged to serve Charles XII. and they were accordingly received in his service by a singular destiny, which reserved them once more to change their conqueror into their master.

With regard to the Muscovites, they begged their lives on their knees; but were inhumanly massacred, about six hours after the combat, to revenge the violences offered by their countrymen: and also that the Swedes might get rid of prisoners, which they knew not how to dispose of.

Augustus now saw himself without resources: he had no place left him but Cracow, in which he was shut up with two regiments of Muscovites, two of Saxons, and some troops of the army of the crown, by whom he was even afraid of being delivered up to the conqueror; but his ruin was compleated, when he learned that Charles XII. was at last entered into Saxony, on the 1st of September, 1706.

He

He had marched through Silesia, even without deigning to advertize the court of Vienna. Germany was alarmed; the diet of Ratisbon, which represents the empire, but whose resolutions are often as ineffectual as solemn, declared the king of Sweden an enemy to the empire, if he passed the Oder with his army; which circumstance determined him to march the sooner into Germany.

At his approach the villages were deserted, and the inhabitants fled on every side. Charles behaved here as at Copenhagen; he caused it every where to be published, that he was only come to give them peace, and that all those who would return home, and pay the contributions he demanded, should be treated as his proper subjects, but that the rest should be pursued without quarter. This declaration, from a prince who was never known to break his word, made those return in crowds, who before had fled from fear. He pitched his camp at Altranstad, near the plain of Lutzen, a field famous for the victory and death of Gustavus Adolphus. He went to see the place where that great man was killed. When they had conducted him to the spot, "I have endeavoured," said he, "to live like him; God will grant me one day, perhaps, a death as glorious."

He sent orders from the camp, to the states of Saxony, to assemble, and transmit to him, without delay, the registers of the electoral finances. As soon as he had them in his power, and was informed justly with what Saxony was able to furnish him, he taxed it at six hundred and twenty-five thousand rix-dollars a month. Besides this contribution, the Saxons were obliged to furnish every Swedish soldier with two pounds of flesh, two pounds of bread, two pots of beer, and four-pence a day, together with forage for their horses. The contributions thus regulated, the king established a new police to protect the Saxons from the insults of his own soldiers: he ordered, that in every town where he placed garrisons, the inn-keepers, who quartered his soldiers, should give certificates every

month of their conduct, in default of which the soldier was not to have his pay. Besides this, inspectors went every fifteen days from house to house, to inform themselves, whether the Swedes had committed any outrage. And they were likewise authorized to indemnify the inn-keeper, and punish the offender.

It was well known under what severe discipline the troops of Charles XIIth were kept: that they never pillaged towns taken by assault, before they received permission: that they even then plundered in a regular manner, and left off at the first signal. The Swedes boast to this day of the discipline that they observed in Saxony, while the Saxons complain of the terrible outrages they committed, contradictions which it would be impossible to reconcile were it not known how differently different men behold the same object. It was scarcely possible but that the conquerors would sometimes abuse their rights, as the conquered would take the slightest injuries for the most enormous outrages. One day as the king was riding near Leipstick, a Saxon peasant came and threw himself at his feet, beseeching him to grant him justice on a grenadier, who had just taken from him what was designed for his family's dinner. The king immediately caused the soldier to be brought to him: "Is it true," said he, with a stern countenance, "that you have robbed this man?" "Sire" said the soldier "I have not done him so much injury, as you have done his master; you have taken from him a kingdom, I have taken from this fellow nothing but a turkey." The king gave the peasant ten ducats with his own hand, and pardoned the soldier for the wit and boldness of his reply: saying to him, "Remember, friend, that, if I have taken a kingdom from Augustus, I have kept nothing to myself."

The great fair of Leipstick was held as usual; the merchants coming there in perfect security: they saw not one Swedish soldier in the fair: one would have said that the army of the king of Sweden was in Saxony only to preserve the safety of the country. He com-
manded

manded throughout the electorate with a power as absolute, and a tranquillity as profound, as he did in Stockholm.

The king Augustus wandering through Poland, deprived at once of his kingdom and electorate, at last wrote a letter with his own hand to Charles XII. begging him to grant a peace. He secretly charged the baron d'Imhoff, in conjunction with Mr. Fingsten, referendary of the privy-council, to carry this letter; and gave them both full power, and a blank signed; "Go," (said he to them) "endeavour to obtain for me reasonable and christian conditions." He was reduced to the necessity of concealing these overtures, and to decline the open mediation of any prince; for, being then in Poland, at the mercy of the Muscovites, he had reason to fear that dangerous ally, whom he was now going to abandon, would take vengeance on him for his submission to the conqueror. His two plenipotentiaries came to Charles's camp in the night-time, and had a private audience. The king having read the letter, told them they should have his answer immediately; and accordingly retiring to his closet, he wrote as follows:

"I consent to give peace on the following conditions, in which it must be expected that I never will make the least alteration.

"I. That Augustus renounce for ever the crown of Poland; that he acknowledge Stanislaus as lawful king; and that he promise never to remount the throne, not even after the death of Stanislaus.

"II. That he cancel all other treaties, particularly those he hath made with the Muscovites.

"III. That he honourably send back to my camp, the princes Sobieski, with the other prisoners he hath taken.

"IV. That he deliver up all the deserters that have entered into his service, particularly John Patkul; and that he stop all proceedings against such as have deserted from his service, and entered into mine."

This written answer he gave to Count Piper, with orders

orders to settle the particulars with the plenipotentiaries of Augustus. These gentlemen were shocked at the severity of the proposals; and used all the little arts, that men without power can employ, to mitigate, if possible, the rigour of the king. They had several conferences with count Piper, but that minister answered all their arguments with this short reply; "such is the will of the king my master, and he never changes his resolution."

While these negotiations were carrying on in Saxony, fortune seemed to put Augustus in a condition to obtain more honourable terms, and to treat with his conqueror on a more equal footing.

Prince Menzikoff, generalissimo of the Muscovites, entered Poland with a body of thirty thousand men, at a time when Augustus not only did not desire their assistance, but even dreaded it. He had only with him some Polish and Saxon troops, making in all about six thousand men. With so small a body of troops, surrounded by the army of prince Menzikoff, he had every thing to fear, in case the negotiation should be discovered. He saw himself at once dethroned by his enemy, and in danger of being taken prisoner by his ally. In this delicate crisis, one of the Swedish generals, named Meyerfield, at the head of ten thousand men, appeared at Calish, near the palatinate of Posnania. Prince Menzikoff pressed Augustus to give them battle; who being greatly embarrassed, delayed the engagement under various pretexts; for, though the enemy had but one third of his number, there were four thousand Swedes in Meyerfield's army, and that alone was sufficient to render the event doubtful. To attack the Swedes during the negotiation, and to lose the battle, was, in effect, to deepen the abyss in which he was already plunged. He resolved, therefore, to send a trusty servant to the general of the enemy, in order to give him some distant hints of the peace, and advise him to retreat. But this advice produced an effect contrary to what he expected. General Meyerfield

field thought they were laying a snare to intimidate him; and for that reason resolved to hazard a battle.

The Russians, now for the first time, conquered the Swedes in a pitched battle. This victory, which Augustus gained almost against his will, was entire and complete. In the midst of his bad fortune, he entered triumphant into Warsaw, formerly his flourishing capital, but then a dismantled and ruined town, ready to receive any conqueror, and to acknowledge the strongest for king. He was tempted to seize upon this moment of prosperity, to go with the Muscovite army to attack the king of Sweden in Saxony. But when he reflected that Charles XII. was at the head of an army, hitherto invincible; that the Russians would abandon him on the first intelligence of the treaty he had begun; that his Saxon dominions, already drained of men and money, would be equally ravaged by the Swedes and Muscovites; that the empire, engaged in a war with France, could afford him no assistance; and that, in the end, he should be left without dominions, money or friends; he thought it most adviseable to comply with the terms the king of Sweden should impose. These became still more severe when Charles heard that Augustus had attacked his troops during the negotiation. His resentment, and the pleasure of further humbling an enemy who had just vanquished his forces, made him inflexible upon all the articles of the treaty. Thus the victory of Augustus served only to render his situation the more miserable; a circumstance which perhaps never happened to any but himself.

He had just caused *Te Deum* to be sung at Warsaw, when Fingsten, one of his plenipotentiaries, arrived from Saxony with the treaty of peace which deprived him of his crown. Augustus hesitated for a while, but at length signed it; and set out for Saxony, vainly hoping that his presence would soften the king of Sweden, and that his enemy would perhaps remember the ancient alliance of their families, and the affinity of blood that ran in their veins.

These

These two princes met, for the first time without ceremony, in count Piper's tent, at a place called Gutersdorff. Charles was, as usual, in his jack-boots, with a piece of black taffety tied round his neck instead of a cravat: his cloaths of coarse blue cloth, with gilt brass buttons. He had a long sword by his side, which had served him in the battle of Narva, and on the pommel of which he frequently leaned. The conversation turned wholly upon these jack-boots; Charles telling Augustus that he had not laid them aside for six years, except when he went to bed. These trifles were the only subject of discourse between two kings, one of whom had just deprived the other of his crown. Augustus, especially, spoke with an air of complaisance and satisfaction, which princes, and men accustomed to the management of great affairs, know how to assume amidst the most cruel mortifications. The two kings dined together twice. Charles always affected to give Augustus the right hand; but, far from mitigating the rigour of his demands, he rendered them still more severe. It was doubtless a very mortifying thing, for a sovereign to be forced to deliver up a general officer and a public minister. It was still a greater debasement to be obliged to send the jewels and archives of the crown to his successor Stanislaus. But what completed his degradation was, his being at last compelled to congratulate, on his accession to the throne, the man who was going to usurp his place. Charles required Augustus to write a letter to Stanislaus. The dethroned king endeavoured to evade the demand; but Charles insisted upon his writing the letter, and he was obliged to comply. Here follows an exact transcript of it, which I have seen. It is copied from the original, which is still in the possession of king Stanislaus.

"Sir and brother,
 "We little imagined it would have been necessary
 "to enter into a literary correspondence with your
 "majesty; nevertheless, in order to please his majesty
 "of Sweden, and to avoid the suspicion of our being
 "un-

“ unwilling to gratify his desire, we hereby congratulate you on your accession to the throne; and wish you
 “ may find in your native country more faithful subjects
 “ than we have left there. All the world will do us
 “ the justice to believe, that we have received nothing
 “ but the most ungrateful returns for our good offices,
 “ and that the greater part of our subjects seemed to
 “ have no other aim than to hasten our ruin. Wishing
 “ that you may never be exposed to the like misfortunes,
 “ we commit you to the protection of God.

“ Your brother and neighbour,

Dresden, April 8,
1707.

“ Augustus, King.”

Augustus was obliged to give orders to all his magistrates no longer to stile him king of Poland, and to erase this title, which he now renounced, from the public prayers. He was less averse to the releasing of the Sobieskies; but the sacrifice of Patkul was the severest of all. The czar of Muscovy, on the one hand, loudly demanded him back, as his ambassador; and on the other, the king of Sweden, with the most terrible menaces in case of refusal, insisted that he should be delivered up to him. Patkul was then confined in the castle of Koningstein, in Saxony. Augustus thought he might easily gratify Charles XII. and save his own honour. He sent his guards to deliver this unhappy man to the Swedish troops; but he previously dispatched a secret order to the governor of Koningstein, to let his prisoner escape. The bad fortune of Patkul defeated the pains that were taken to save him. The governor, knowing that Patkul was very rich, had a mind to make him purchase his liberty. The prisoner still relying on the law of nations, and informed of the intentions of Augustus, refused to pay for that which he thought he had a title to obtain for nothing. The guards who were commissioned to seize the prisoner, arrived, during this interval, and immediately delivered him to four Swedish captains, who carried him forthwith to the general quarters at Altranstad, where he remained for three months, fastened to a stake, with
 a heavy

a heavy iron chain; from whence he was conducted to Casimir.

Charles forgetting that Patkul was the czar's ambassador, and considering him only as his own subject, ordered a council of war to try him with the utmost rigour. He was condemned to be broken alive on the wheel, and then quartered. A chaplain coming to inform him of the fatal sentence, without acquainting him with the manner in which it was to be executed, Patkul, who had braved death in so many battles, finding himself shut up with a priest, and his courage being no longer supported by pride or passion, the only sources of human intrepidity, poured out a flood of tears into the chaplain's bosom. He was betrothed to a Saxon lady, called Madam d'Einfiedel, a woman of birth, of merit, and of beauty, and whom he intended to have married about the time that he found himself condemned to die. He entreated the chaplain to wait upon her, to give her all the consolation in his power, and to assure her that he died full of the most tender affection for his incomparable mistress. When he was brought to the place of punishment, and beheld the wheel and stakes prepared for his execution, he fell into convulsions, and threw himself into the arms of the minister, who embraced him, covered him with his cloak, and wept over him. A Swedish officer then read aloud a paper to the following effect :

" This is to declare, that it is the express order of
 " his majesty, our most merciful lord, that this man,
 " who is a traitor to his country, be broke upon the
 " wheel, and quartered, in order to atone for his crimes,
 " and to be an example to others; that every one may
 " beware of treason, and faithfully serve his king!"
 At the words " our most merciful lord," Patkul cried out, " What mercy?" and at those of " traitor to his
 " country," " Alas! (said he) I have served it but too
 " well." He received sixteen blows, and suffered the
 most excruciating tortures that can be imagined.
 Thus died the unfortunate John Reinold Patkul, am-
 bassador and general of the emperor of Russia.

Those

Those that looked upon him only as a rebel, said that he deserved death; but those who considered him as a Livonian, born in a province that had privileges to defend, and remembered that he had been banished from Livonia for no other reason than his having defended those privileges, called him a martyr to the liberty of his country. It was on all hands agreed, however, that the title of ambassador to the czar ought to have rendered his person sacred. The king of Sweden alone, educated in the principles of arbitrary power, thought that he had only performed an act of justice, whilst all Europe condemned his cruelty.

The mangled limbs of the sufferer remained exposed upon gibbets till 1713, when Augustus having regained his throne, caused these testimonies of the necessity to which he was reduced at Altranstad, to be gathered together. They were brought to Warsaw in a box, and delivered to him in presence of the French envoy. The king of Poland shewing the box to this minister, only said, "These are the limbs of Patkul;" without adding any thing either to blame his conduct or to bewail his memory, and without any one daring to speak on so delicate and mournful a subject.

About this time, a Livonian, named Paikel, an officer in the Saxon troops, who had been taken prisoner in the field, was condemned at Stockholm, by a decree of the senate; but his sentence was only to lose his head. This difference of punishments in the same case, made it but too plain, that Charles, in putting Patkul to such a cruel death, was more anxious to avenge himself, than to punish the criminal. Be it as it may, Paikel, after his condemnation, proposed to the senate to impart to the king the secret of making gold, on condition that he should obtain his pardon. He made the experiment in prison, in presence of colonel Hamilton and the magistrates of the town; and whether he had actually discovered some useful secret, or, which is more probable, had only acquired the art of deceiving with a plausible air, they carried the gold which was found in the crucible to the mint at Stockholm, and gave the senate
such

such a full, and seemingly such an important account of the matter, that the queen-dowager, Charles's grand-mother, ordered his execution to be suspended till the king should be informed of this uncommon affair, and send his orders accordingly.

The king made answer "That as he had refused the pardon of the criminal to the intreaties of his friends, he would never grant to interest what he had denied to friendship." This inflexibility had something in it very heroical in a prince, especially as he thought the secret practicable. Augustus, upon hearing this story, said, "I am not surprized at the king of Sweden's indifference about the philosopher's stone: he has found it in Saxony."

When the czar was informed of the strange peace which Augustus had, notwithstanding their former treaties, concluded at Altranstad; and that Patkul, his ambassador-plenipotentiary, was delivered up to the king of Sweden, in contempt of the laws of nations, he loudly complained of these indignities to the several courts of Europe. He wrote to the emperor of Germany, to the queen of England, and to the states-general of the united provinces. He gave the terms of cowardice and treachery to the sad necessity to which Augustus had been obliged to submit. He conjured all these powers to interpose their mediation to procure the restoration of his ambassador, and to prevent the affront, which, in his person, was going to be offered to crowned heads. He pressed them, by the motives of honour, not to debase themselves so far as to become guarantees of the treaty of Altranstad; a concession which Charles XII. meant to extort from them by his threatening and imperious behaviour. These letters had no other effect than to set the power of the king of Sweden in a stronger light. The emperor, England, and Holland, were then engaged in a ruinous war with France, and judged it a very unseasonable juncture to exasperate Charles XII. by refusing the vain ceremony of being guarantees to a treaty. With regard to the unhappy Patkul, there was not a single power

power that interposed its good offices in his behalf; from whence it appears what little confidence a subject ought to put in princes, and how much all the monarchs in Europe at that time stood in awe of the king of Sweden.

It was proposed in council to the czar to retaliate this cruelty on the Swedish officers who were prisoners at Moscow; but the czar would not consent to a barbarity which would have been attended with fatal consequences, as there were more Muscovites prisoners in Sweden, than Swedes in Muscovy.

He studied a more advantageous revenge. The main body of his enemy's army lay inactive in Saxony. Lewenhaupt, his general, who was left in Poland, with about twenty thousand men, was not able to guard the passes into a country without forts, and full of factions. Stanislaus was in the camp of Charles. The emperor of Muscovy therefore seizes this opportunity, and re-enters Poland with above 60,000 men. These he divides into several bodies, and marches with a flying camp to Leopold, where there was no Swedish garrison. All the towns of Poland yield to any one who appears before their gates at the head of an army. He caused an assembly to be convoked at Leopold, of much the same nature with that which had dethroned Augustus at Warsaw.

Poland had at that time two primates, as well as two kings, the one nominated by Augustus, the other by Stanislaus. The primate, nominated by Augustus, summoned the assembly of Leopold, to which they, whom that prince had abandoned by the peace of Altranstad, and such as were brought over by the czar, immediately repaired. Here it was proposed to elect a new sovereign; so that Poland was upon the point of having three kings at once, without being able to say which was the real one.

During the conferences at Leopold, the czar, whose interest was closely connected with that of the emperor of Germany, on account of the common dread which they

they both entertained of the power of the king of Sweden, secretly obtained from him a number of German officers; who daily arriving, encreased his strength in a considerable degree, by bringing with them discipline and experience. These he engaged in his service by several instances of liberality; and the more to encourage his own troops, he gave his picture, set with diamonds, to all the general officers and colonels who had fought at the battle of Calish: the subaltern officers had medals of gold, and every private soldier a medal of silver. These monuments of the victory at Calish were all struck in the new city of Petersburg; where the improvement of the arts kept pace with the desire of glory and spirit of emulation which the czar had instilled into his troops.

The confusion, the multiplicity of factions, and the continual ravages prevailing in Poland, hindered the diet of Leopold from coming to any resolution. The czar therefore transferred it to Lublin; but the change of place did not lessen the disorder and perplexity in which the whole nation was involved. The assembly contented themselves with declaring that they neither acknowledged Augustus, who had abdicated the throne, nor Stanislaus, who had been elected against their will; but they were neither sufficiently united, nor had resolution enough to nominate another king. During these fruitless deliberations, the party of the princes Sapieha, that of Oginsky, those who secretly adhered to Augustus, and the new subjects of Stanislaus, all made war upon one another, plundered each other's estates, and compleated the ruin of their country. The Swedish troops, commanded by Lewenhaupt, one part of which lay in Livonia, another in Lithuania, and a third in Poland, were daily in pursuit of the Russians, and set fire to every thing that opposed Stanislaus. The Russians ruined their friends and foes without distinction; and nothing was to be seen but towns reduced to ashes, and wandering troops of Poles, deprived of all their substance, and detesting alike their two kings, Charles XII, and the czar of Muscovy. In

In order to quiet these commotions, and to secure the possession of the throne, Stanislaus set out from Altranstad on the fifteenth of July, 1707, accompanied by general Renschild, with sixteen Swedish regiments, and furnished with a large sum of money. He was acknowledged wherever he came. The strict discipline of his troops, which made the barbarity of the Muscovites to be more sensibly felt, conciliated the affections of the people. His extreme affability, in proportion as it was better known, reconciled to him almost all the different factions; and his money procured him the greatest part of the army of the crown. The czar, apprehensive of wanting provisions, in a country which his troops had laid waste, retired into Lithuania, where he had fixed the general rendezvous of his army, and where he resolved to establish magazines. This retreat left Stanislaus the undisturbed sovereign of almost all Poland.

The only person that gave him any uneasiness, was count Siniausky, grand general of the crown, by the nomination of Augustus. This man, who was possessed of no contemptible talents, and entertained the most ambitious views, was at the head of a third party. He neither acknowledged Augustus or Stanislaus; and, after having used his utmost efforts in order to procure his own election, contented himself with being the head of a party, since he could not be king. The troops of the crown, which continued under his command, had no other pay but the liberty of pillaging their fellow subjects with impunity. And all those who had either suffered, or were apprehensive of suffering, from the rapacity of these freebooters, soon submitted to Stanislaus, whose power was gathering strength every day.

The king of Sweden was then in his camp at Altranstad, receiving ambassadors from almost all the princes in Christendom. Some entreating him to quit the empire, others desiring him to turn his arms against the emperor; and it was then the general report, that he intended to join with France, in hum-

bling the house of Austria. Among these ambassadors came the famous John, duke of Marlborough, on the part of Anne, queen of Great Britain. This man, who never besieged a town which he did not take, nor fought a battle which he did not gain, was at St. James's a perfect courtier, in parliament a head of a party, and in foreign countries the most able negotiator of his time. He has done France as much mischief by his politics as by his arms. Mr. Fagel, secretary of the states-general, a man of the greatest merit, has been heard to say, that when the states-general had more than once resolved to oppose the schemes which the duke was about to lay before them, the duke came, spoke to them in French, a language in which he expressed himself but very indifferently, and yet he brought them all over to his opinion. Of the truth of this story Lord Bolingbroke assured me.

In conjunction with prince Eugene, the companion of his victories, and Heinsius, the grand pensionary of Holland, he supported the whole weight of the war which the allies carried on against France. He knew that Charles was incensed against the empire and the emperor; that he was secretly solicited by the French; and that if this conqueror should espouse the cause of Lewis XIV. the allies must be entirely ruined.

Charles indeed had given his word in 1700, that he would not intermeddle in the quarrel between Lewis XIV. and the allies; but the duke of Marlborough could not believe that any prince would be so great a slave to his word as not to sacrifice it to his grandeur and interest. He therefore set out from the Hague with a resolution to sound the intentions of the king of Sweden. Mr. Fabricius, who then attended upon Charles XII. assured me, that the duke of Marlborough, on his arrival, applied secretly, not to count Piper, the prime minister, but to baron de Gortz, who now began to share with Piper the confidence of the king. He even went to the quarters of Charles XII. in the coach of this nobleman; there having passed some marks of mutual disrespect between the duke and the chancellor Piper;

Piper* ; by whom however being afterwards presented, together with Robinson the English minister, he spoke to the king in French. He told him in particular that he should esteem it a singular happiness, to have an opportunity of learning under his command such parts of the art of war as he did not yet understand. To this polite compliment the king made no return, and seemed to forget that it was Marlborough who was speaking to him. He even thought, as I have been told, that the dress of this great man was too fine and costly : and that his air had in it too little of a soldier. The conversation was tedious and general, Charles XII. speaking in the Swedish tongue, and Robinson serving as an interpreter. Marlborough, who was never in a haste to make proposals ; and who, by a long course of experience, had learned the art of diving into the real characters of men, and discovering the connection between their most secret thoughts and their actions, gestures, and discourse, regarded the king with the utmost attention. When he spoke to him of war in general, he thought he perceived in his majesty a natural aversion to France ; and remarked that he talked with pleasure of the conquests of the allies. He mentioned the czar to him, and observed that his eyes always kindled at the name, notwithstanding the calmness of the conversation. He remarked, besides, a map of Muscovy lying before him upon the table. He wanted no more to convince him that the real design and sole ambition of the king of Sweden was to dethrone the czar, as he had done the king of Poland. He was sensible that, if Charles remained in Saxony, it was only to impose some hard conditions on the emperor of Germany. He knew the emperor could make no resist-

* It is said, when the duke arrived at the quarters of count Piper, of whom he had demanded an audience, he was told that the count was busy, and obliged to wait half an hour before the Swedish minister came down to receive him. Then the duke alighted from his coach, put on his hat, passed the count without saluting him, went aside to the wall, where having staid a few minutes, he returned and accosted Piper with the most polite address.

ance, and that thus all disputes would be easily accommodated. He left Charles therefore to follow the bent of his own mind: and, satisfied with having discovered his intentions, made him no proposals. These particulars I had from the duchess of Marlborough, his widow, who is still alive.*

As few negotiations are finished without money, and as ministers are sometimes known to sell the hatred or favour of their masters, it was the general opinion throughout Europe, that the duke of Marlborough would not have succeeded so well with the king of Sweden, had he not made a handsome present to count Piper, whose memory still labours under the imputation. For my own part, after having traced this report to its source, with all the care and accuracy of which I am master, I found that Piper received a small present from the emperor, by the hands of the count de Wratislau, with the consent of his master, but nothing from the duke of Marlborough. Certain it is, Charles was so firmly resolved to dethrone the emperor of Russia, that he asked nobody's advice on that subject, nor wanted the instigation of count Piper to prompt him to wreak his long meditated vengeance on the head of Peter Alexiowitz.

But what fully justifies the character of that minister was, the honour which, long after this period, was paid to his memory by Charles XII. who having heard that Piper was dead in Russia, caused his corps to be transported to Stockholm, and gave him a magnificent funeral at his own expence.

The king, who had not as yet experienced any reverse of fortune, nor even met with any interruption in his victories, thought one year would be sufficient for dethroning the czar; after which, he imagined he might return and set himself up as the arbiter of Europe. But, first of all, he resolved to humble the emperor of Germany.

* The author wrote in 1727, since which time, as appears from other dates, the work hath undergone several corrections.

Baron de Stralheim, the Swedish envoy at Vienna, had quarreled at a public entertainment, with the count de Zobor, chamberlain of the emperor. The latter having refused to drink the health of Charles XII. and having declared that prince had used his master ill, Stralheim gave him at once the lie and a box on the ear, and besides this insult, boldly demanded a reparation from the imperial court. The fear of displeasing the king of Sweden, obliged the emperor to banish his subject, whom he ought rather to have avenged. Charles was not satisfied with this condescension, but insisted that count Zobor should be delivered up to him. The pride of the court of Vienna was forced to stoop. The count was put into the hands of the king, who sent him back, after having detained him some time a prisoner at Stettin. He likewise further demanded, contrary to the law of nations, that they should deliver up to him fifteen hundred unhappy Muscovites, who having escaped the fury of his arms, had fled for refuge into the empire. The emperor was obliged to yield even to this strange demand; and, had not the Russian envoy at Vienna dexterously given these unhappy wretches an opportunity of escaping by different roads, they must have been delivered into the hands of their enemies.

The third and last of his demands was the most extraordinary. He declared himself the protector of the emperor's protestant subjects in Silesia, a province belonging to the house of Austria, not to the empire. He insisted that the emperor should grant them the liberties and privileges which had been established by the treaties of Westphalia, but which were extinguished, or at least eluded, by those of Ryfwick. The emperor, who wanted only to get rid of such a dangerous neighbour, yielded once more, and granted all he desired. The Lutherans of Silesia had above an hundred churches, which the Catholics were obliged to cede to them by this treaty: but of many of these advantages, which were now procured them by the king of Sweden's good fortune, they were afterwards

deprived, when that prince was no longer in a condition to impose laws.

The emperor who made these forced concessions, and complied in every thing with the will of Charles XII. was called Joseph; and was the eldest son of Leopold, and brother to Charles VI. who succeeded him. The pope's inter-nuncio, who then resided at the court of Joseph, reproached him in very severe terms, alledging that it was a most shameful condescension for a Catholic emperor, like him, to sacrifice the interest of his own religion to that of hereticks. "You may think yourself very happy," replied the emperor, with a smile, "that the king of Sweden did not propose to make one a Lutheran; for if he had, I do not know what I might have done."

The count de Wratislau, his ambassador with Charles XII. brought to Leipzig the treaty in favour of the Silesians, signed with his master's hand; upon which Charles said, he was the emperor's best friend. He was far from being pleased, however, that the court of Rome should have employed its arts and intrigues, in order to traverse his scheme. He looked with the utmost contempt upon the weakness of that court; which, having one half of Europe for its irreconcilable enemy, and placing no confidence in the other, can only support its credit by the finesse of its negotiations; and yet resolved to be revenged on his holiness. He told the count de Wratislau, that the Swedes had formerly subdued Rome, and had not degenerated like her. He sent the pope word, that he would one day re-demand the effects which queen Christina had left at Rome; and it is hard to say how far this young conqueror might have carried his resentment and his arms, had fortune favoured his designs. At that time nothing appeared impossible to him. He had even sent several officers privately into Asia and Egypt, to take plans of the towns, and to examine into the strength of those countries. Certain it is, that if ever prince was able to overturn the empire of the Turks and Persians, and afterwards do the same

fame by the Romans, it was Charles XII. He was as young as Alexander, as brave, as enterprising, more indefatigable, more robust, and more temperate; the Swedes also were perhaps better soldiers than the Macedonians. But such projects, which are called divine when they succeed, are regarded only as chimerical when they fail of success.

At length having removed every difficulty, and accomplished all his designs; having humbled the emperor, given laws in the empire, protected the Lutheran religion in the midst of the Catholics, dethroned one king, crowned another, and rendered himself the terror of all the princes around him, he began to prepare for his departure. The pleasures of Saxony, where he had remained inactive for a whole year, had not made the least alteration in his manner of living. He rode out thrice a day, rose at four in the morning, dressed himself with his own hands, drank no wine, sat at table only a quarter of an hour, exercised his troops every day, and knew no other pleasure but that of making Europe tremble.

The Swedes were still ignorant whither their king intended to lead them. They had only a suspicion that he meant to go to Moscow. A few days before his departure, he ordered the grand marshal of his household to give him in writing the rout from Leipfick; at that word he paused a moment; and, lest the marshal should discover his project, he added, with a smile—to all the capital cities of Europe. The mareschal brought him a list of all these routes, at the head of which he placed, in great letters, “The route “from Leipfick to Stockholm.” The generality of Swedes were extremely desirous of returning home; but the king was far from intending to lead them back to their native country. “Mr. Mareschal,” says he, “I plainly see whither you would lead me; “but we shall not return to Stockholm so soon.”

The army was already on its march, and was passing by Dresden, when Charles, who was at the head of his men, always riding, as usual, two or three hundred

paces before his guards, all of a sudden vanished from their sight. Some officers advanced at full gallop to see where he was. They ran to all parts but could not find him. In a moment the alarm was spread over the whole army. The troops were ordered to halt: the generals assembled together, and were already in the utmost consternation. At length, they learned from a Saxon, who was passing by, what was become of the king.

As he was passing so near Dresden, he took it into his head to pay a visit to Augustus. He entered the town on horseback, followed by three or four general officers. The centries of the gate asked them their names. Charles said his name was Carl, and that he was a Draban; and all the rest took fictitious names. Count Fleming, seeing them pass through the town, had only time to run and inform his master. All that could possibly be done on such an occasion immediately presented itself to the mind of that minister, who suggested it to Augustus. But Charles entered the chamber in his boots, before Augustus had time to recover from his surprize. Augustus was then sick, and in his night gown; but dressed himself in haste. Charles breakfasted with him, as a traveller who comes to take leave of his friend; and then expressed his desire of viewing the fortifications. During the short time he employed in walking round them, a Livonian, who had been condemned in Sweden, and now served in the Saxon army, imagining that he could never find a more favourable opportunity of obtaining his pardon, entreated Augustus to ask it of Charles; persuading himself that his majesty would not refuse so small a favour to a prince from whom he had taken a crown, and in whose power he now seemed to be. Augustus readily undertook to make the request. He was then at some distance from the king, and was conversing with Hord, a Swedish general. "I believe," said he, smiling, "your master will not refuse me." "You do not know him," replied general Hord, "he will rather
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"ther refuse you here, than any where else." Augustus, however, did not fail to prefer the petition in very pressing terms; and Charles refused it in such a manner as to prevent a repetition of the request. After having passed some hours in this strange visit, he embraced Augustus, and departed. Upon rejoining his army, he found all his generals still in consternation. They told him they had determined to besiege Dresden, if his majesty had been detained prisoner. "Right," said the king, "but they durst not." Next day, upon hearing the news that Augustus held an extraordinary council at Dresden, "You see," said baron Stralheim, "they are deliberating upon what they should have done yesterday." A few days after Renschild, coming to wait upon the king, expressed his surprize at this unaccountable visit to Augustus. "I confided," said Charles, "in my good fortune; but I have seen the moment that might have been prejudicial to me. Fleming had no mind that I should leave Dresden so soon."

B O O K IV.

A R G U M E N T.

Charles being victorious quits Saxony:—Pursues the Czar:—Shuts himself up in the Ukraine:—His Losses:—Is wounded:—The Battle of Pultowa:—The Consequence of that Battle:—Charles is forced to fly into Turkey:—His Reception in Bessarabia.

CHARLES at length took leave of Saxony, in September 1707, at the head of an army of forty-three thousand men, formerly covered with steel, but now shining with gold and silver, and enriched by the spoils of Poland and Saxony; every soldier carrying with him fifty crowns in ready money. The regiments were not only complete, but every

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company had several supernumeraries. Besides this army, count Lewenhaupt, one of his best generals, waited for him in Poland with twenty thousand men. He had also another army of fifteen thousand in Finland; and fresh recruits were coming to him from Sweden. With all these forces it was not doubted but that he would dethrone the czar.

That emperor was at that time in Lithuania, endeavouring to reanimate a party which Augustus appeared to have abandoned. His troops, divided into several bodies, fled on all sides at the first news of the king of Sweden's approach. He had himself, indeed, enjoined his generals never to wait for this conqueror with unequal forces: and he was accordingly obeyed.

The king of Sweden, in the midst of his victorious march, received an ambassador on the part of the Turks. This ambassador had his audience in the tent of count Piper, in which all visits of ceremony were received. On these occasions this minister supported the dignity of his master, by the appearance of a little magnificence, while the king, who was always worse lodged, worse served, and more plainly dressed than the meanest officer in his army, used to say, that his palace was at count Piper's. The Turkish ambassador presented Charles with a hundred Swedish soldiers, which, having been taken by the Calmucks, and sold in Turkey, had been purchased by the grand seignior, who had sent them back to the king, as the most acceptable present he could make him. Not that the Ottoman pride designed to pay homage to the glory of Charles XII. but because the sultan, being the natural enemy of the emperors of Russia and Germany, was desirous to fortify himself against them by the friendship of Sweden and the alliance of Poland. The ambassador complimented Stanislaus upon his accession to the throne; so that this king was in a short space of time acknowledged by Germany, France, England, Spain, and Turkey. There remained only the pope, who deferred the like acknowledgment 'till time should

should have settled on his head a crown, of which a sinister accident might deprive it.

Charles had hardly given audience to the Turkish ambassador, before he went in pursuit of the Muscovites. The Russians had quitted Poland, and returned to it above twenty different times during the course of the war. This country, which is open on all sides, and has no fortresses to cut off the retreat of an army, gave the Muscovites an opportunity of sometimes revisiting the very spot where they had formerly been vanquished, and even of penetrating as far into the heart of the kingdom as the vanquisher. During Charles's stay in Saxony, the czar had advanced as far as Leopold, situated at the southern extremity of Poland; but was at this time at Grodno, in Lithuania, an hundred leagues north of Leopold.

Charles left Stanislaus in Poland to defend his new kingdom, with the assistance of ten thousand Swedes, and his own subjects, against his foreign and domestic enemies: while he put himself at the head of his cavalry, and marched, amidst frost and snow, to Grodno, in the month of January, 1708.

He had passed the Niemen, about two leagues from the town, before the czar knew any thing of his march. Upon the first news of the arrival of the Swedish army, however, the czar quits the town by the north gate, and Charles enters it by the south: having only six hundred of his guards with him; the rest not being able to keep pace with him. The czar fled with above two thousand men, apprehending that a whole army was entering Grodno. But, being informed the same day by a Polish deserter, that he had abandoned the place to no more than six hundred men, and that the main body of the army was still five leagues distant, he lost no time, in detaching fifteen hundred horse of his own troops, in the evening, to surprize the king of Sweden in the town. This detachment, under favour of darkness, arrived undiscovered at the first Swedish guard, which, though consisting only of thirteen men, sustained, for half a quarter of an hour, the efforts of the whole fifteen hundred.

dred. The king, who was at the other end of the town, flew to their assistance with the rest of his six hundred guards; upon which the Russians fled with precipitation. His army was not long in joining him, when he set out in pursuit of the enemy. All the Russian troops, dispersed through Lithuania, retired hastily into the palatinate of Minskey, near the frontiers of Muscovy, their general rendezvous. The Swedes, whom the king had likewise divided into several bodies, continued to pursue the enemy for more than thirty leagues. Both the pursued and the pursuers made forced marches almost every day, though in the middle of winter. Indeed all seasons of the year had been long become indifferent to the soldiers both of Charles and the czar; the terror struck by the name of king Charles, now making the only difference between the Russians and the Swedes.

From Grodno to the Boristhenes eastward, is a country of morasses, deserts and immense forests. Even in the cultivated spots there are no provisions to be had, the peasants burying their grain, and whatever else can be so preserved, under ground. These subterraneous stores were discoverable only by boring the earth with iron augres; the Muscovites and the Swedes alternately making use of these provisions: but they were not always to be found, and even then were not sufficient.

The king of Sweden, who had foreseen these difficulties, had provided biscuit for the subsistence of his army, so that nothing could stop his march. After having traversed the forest of Minsky, where he was constantly obliged to cut down the trees to clear the road for his troops and baggage, he found himself, on the 25th of June, 1708, on the banks of the river Berezine, opposite to Borislow.

The czar had in this place assembled the best part of his forces, and intrenched himself to great advantage; his design being to hinder the Swedes from crossing the rivers. Charles posted some regiments on the banks of the Berezine, over against Borislow, as if he meant to attempt a passage in the face of the enemy.

enemy. At the same time marching his army three leagues higher up the river, he threw a bridge across it, cut his way through a body of three thousand men, who defended that pass, and, without halting, marched on toward the main body of the enemy. The Russians did not wait his approach, but decamped and retreated towards the Boristhenes, breaking up the roads, and destroying every thing in their way, in order to retard the pursuit of the Swedes.

Charles surmounted every obstacle, and advanced towards the Boristhenes. He was opposed in his march by twenty thousand Muscovites, intrenched at a place called Hollosin, behind a morass, which could not be approached without passing a river. Charles did not delay the attack till the rest of his infantry should arrive, but plunged into the water at the head of his guards, and crossed the river and the morass, the water frequently reaching above his shoulders. While he was thus pressing forward to the enemy, he ordered his cavalry to go round the morass, and attack them in flank. The Muscovites, astonished that no barrier could defend them, were instantly routed by the king, who thus attacked them on foot with his guards, supported by the Swedish cavalry.

These having forced their way through the enemy, joined the king in the midst of the battle. He then mounted on horseback; but observing, soon after, a young Swedish gentleman, named Gyllenstiern, for whom he had a great regard, wounded and unable to walk, he obliged him to take his horse, and continued to command on foot, at the head of his infantry. Of all the battles he had fought, this was perhaps the most glorious; being that in which he encountered the greatest dangers, and displayed the most consummate skill and prudence. The memory of it is still preserved by a medal, with this inscription on one side, *Silvæ, paludes, aggeres, hostes victi*: on the reverse the following verse of Lucan, *Vittrices copias alium laturus in orbem*.

The Russians, thus driven from their posts, repassed the Boristhenes, which divides Poland from Muscovy. But this did not induce Charles to give over the pursuit;

suit; who followed them across that river, which he passed at Mohilou, the last town of Poland, and which alternately belong to the Poles, and to the Russians; the usual fate of frontier towns.

The czar, seeing his empire, in which he lately established the polite arts and a flourishing trade, thus exposed to a war, which, in a short time, might overturn all his mighty projects, and perhaps deprive him of his crown, began to think seriously of peace; and accordingly ventured to make some proposals to that purpose, by a Polish gentleman, whom he sent to the Swedish army. Charles, who had not been accustomed to make peace with his enemies, except in their own capitals, replied, "I will treat with the czar at Moscow." When this haughty answer was reported to the czar, he said, "My brother Charles always affects to play the part of Alexander; but, I flatter myself, he will not find in me another Darius."

From Mohilou, where the king passed the Boristhenes, as you advance towards the north, along the banks of that river, still on the frontiers of Poland and Muscovy, you enter the country of Smolensko; through which lies the great road that leads from Poland to Muscovy. This way the czar directed his flight; and the king pursued him by long marches; so that part of the Russian rear-guard was frequently engaged with the dragoons of the van-guard of the Swedes. The latter, indeed, had generally the advantage, but they were weakened even by victory in these small skirmishes; which were never decisive, and in which they constantly lost a number of men.

On the 22d of September, 1708, the king attacked a body of ten thousand horse, and six thousand Calmucks, near Smolensko.

The Calmucks are Tartars, living between the kingdom of Astracan, subject to the czar, and that of Samarcande, belonging to the Usbeck Tartars, and the country of Timur, known by the name of Tamerlane. The country of the Calmucks extends eastward to the mountains which divide the dominions of the mogul from the western parts of Asia.

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The inhabitants of that part of the country which borders upon Astracan are tributary to the czar, who lays claim to an absolute authority over them; but their vagrant life hinders him from making it good, and obliges him to treat them in the same manner in which the grand seignior treats the Arabs; sometimes conniving at, and sometimes punishing their depredations. There are always some of these Calmucks in the Russian army; and the czar had even reduced them to a regular discipline, like the rest of his soldiers.

King Charles attacked these troops with only six regiments of horse, and four thousand foot; broke their ranks at the first onset, at the head of the regiment of Ostrogoth, and obliged them to fly. He pursued them through rugged and hollow ways, where the Calmucks awhile concealing themselves, soon reappeared, and cut off the regiment at the head of which the king fought, from the rest of the Swedish army. The Russians and Calmucks jointly surrounded this regiment, and forced their way even to the king's person. Two aids de camp fighting near him, fell at his feet. The king's horse was killed under him: and as one of his equerries was presenting him with another, both the equerry and horse were shot dead upon the spot. Charles then fought on foot, surrounded by his officers, who instantly flocked around him.

Many of them were taken, wounded, or slain, or pushed to a great distance from the king by the crowds that assailed them; so that he was soon left with no more than five attendants. With his own hand he had killed above twelve of the enemy, without receiving a single wound; owing to that surprizing good fortune which had hitherto attended him, and upon which he constantly relied. At length, a colonel, named Dardof, broke his way through the Calmucks, and with a single company of his regiment, arrived time enough to save the king. The rest of the Swedes put the Tartars to the sword. The army recovered

its ranks; Charles mounted his horse, and, fatigued as he was, pursued the Russians for two leagues.

The conqueror was still in the great road to the capital of Muscovy. But the distance from Smolensko, near which the battle was fought, to Moscow, is about an hundred French leagues; and the army began to be in want of provisions. The officers earnestly therefore entreated the king to wait till general Lewenhaupt, who was coming up with a reinforcement of fifteen thousand men, should arrive. The king, who seldom indeed took counsel of any, not only rejected this wholesome advice, but, to the great astonishment of all the army, quitted the road to Moscow, and began to march southward towards the Ukraine, the country of the Cossacks, lying between little Tartary, Poland and Muscovy. This country extends about an hundred French leagues from north to south, and almost as many from east to west. It is divided into two parts, near equal, by the Boristhenes, which runs from the north-west to the south-east. The chief town is Bathurin, situated upon the little river Sem. The northern part of the Ukraine is rich and well cultivated. The southern, lying in the forty eighth degree of latitude, is one of the most fertile countries in the world, and yet one of the most desolate. Its wretched form of government stifles in embryo, all the blessings which pregnant nature, if properly encouraged, would bring forth for the inhabitants. The people of these cantons indeed neither sow nor plant, because the Tartars of Budziack, Precop, and Moldavia, being all of them free-booters and banditti, would rob them of their harvests.

The Ukraine hath always aspired after liberty; but being surrounded by Muscovy, Turkey and Poland, it has been obliged to chuse a protector, and consequently a master, in one of these three states. The inhabitants at first put themselves under the protection of the Poles, who treated them with great severity. They afterwards submitted to the Russians, who governed them with as despotic a sway. They had originally
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the privilege of electing a prince under the name of general; but they were soon deprived of that right; and their general was nominated by the court of Moscow.

The person who then filled that station was a Polish gentleman, named Mazeppa, born in the palatinate of Podolia. He had been educated as page to John Casimir, and had received some tincture of learning in his court. An intrigue which he had had in his youth with the lady of a Polish gentleman, having been discovered, the husband caused him to be bound stark naked upon a wild horse, and turned-a-drift in that condition. The horse, who had been brought out of the Ukraine, returned to his own country, and carried Mazeppa with him, half-dead with hunger and fatigue. Some of the country people gave him assistance; and he lived among them for a long time, signalizing himself in several excursions against the Tartars. The superiority of his knowledge gained him great respect among the Cossacks; and his reputation greatly increasing, the czar found it necessary to make him prince of the Ukraine.

Being one day at table with the czar at Moscow, the emperor proposed to him the task of disciplining the Cossacks, and rendering them more docile and dependant. Mazeppa replied, that the situation of Ukraina, and the genius of the nation, were insuperable obstacles to such a scheme. The czar, who began to be over-heated with wine, and had not when sober always the command of his passions, called him a traitor, and threatened to have him empaled.

Mazeppa, on his return to the Ukraine, formed the design of a revolt; the execution of which was greatly facilitated by the Swedish army, that soon after appeared on his frontiers. He resolved to render himself independent, and to erect the Ukraine, with some other ruins of the Russian empire, into a powerful kingdom. Brave, enterprizing, and indefatigable, though advanced in years, he entered secretly into a league

league with the king of Sweden, to accelerate the ruin of the czar, and to convert it to his own advantage.

The king appointed the rendezvous near the river Desna, where Mazeppa promised to meet him at the head of thirty thousand men, with ammunition and provisions, together with all his treasures, which were immense. The Swedish army therefore continued its march on that side, to the great regret of all his officers, who knew nothing of the king's treaty with the Cossacks. In the mean time Charles sent orders to Lewenhaupt, to bring his troops and provisions with all possible dispatch into the Ukraine, where he proposed to pass the winter, that, having once secured that country, he might the more easily conquer Muscovy in the ensuing spring; advancing himself towards the river Desna, which falls into the Boristhenes at Kiow.

The obstructions they had hitherto encountered in their march were but trifling, in comparison of what they met with in this new route. They were obliged to cross a marshy forest fifty leagues in length. General Lagercron, who led the way with five thousand soldiers and pioneers, misled the army thirty leagues too far to the east; nor did the king discover the mistake till after a tiresome march of four days. With difficulty they regained the right road; but almost all their artillery and waggons were lost, being either stuck fast, or entirely sunk in the morass.

After a march of twelve days, attended with many vexatious and untoward circumstances, during which they had consumed the small quantity of biscuit that was left, the army, exhausted with hunger and fatigue, arrived on the banks of the Desna; the very spot which Mazeppa had marked out as a place of rendezvous; but instead of meeting with that prince; they found a body of Muscovites advancing towards the other side of the river. The king was astonished, but resolved immediately to pass the Desna, and attack the enemy. The banks of the river were so steep, that the soldiers were obliged to descend to the water with ropes. They crossed it in their usual manner,
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some on floats which were made in haste, and others by swimming. The body of Muscovites, which arrived at the same time, did not exceed eight thousand men; so that it made but little resistance, and this obstacle was also surmounted.

Charles advanced farther into this desolate country, alike uncertain of his route, and of Mazeppa's fidelity. That Cossack appeared at last, but rather like a fugitive than a powerful ally. The Muscovites had discovered and defeated his design; they had fallen upon the Cossacks and cut them in pieces. His principal friends being taken sword in hand, had, to the number of thirty, been broke on the wheel; his towns were reduced to ashes; his treasures plundered; the provisions he was preparing for the king of Sweden seized; and it was with great difficulty that he himself made his escape with six thousand men, and some horses laden with gold and silver. He gave the king nevertheless some hopes that he should be able to assist him by his intelligence in that unknown country, and by the affection of the Cossacks, who, being enraged against the Russians, flocked to the camp, and supplied the army with provisions.

Charles hoped at least that general Lewenhaupt would come and repair this misfortune. He was to bring with him about fifteen thousand Swedes, who were better than an hundred thousand Cossacks, together with ammunition and provisions. At length however he arrived, in much the same condition with Mazeppa.

He had already passed the Boristhenes above Mohilou, and advanced twenty leagues beyond it, on the road to the Ukraine. He was bringing the king a convoy of eight thousand waggons, with the money which he had levied in his march through Lithuania. He no sooner approached the town of Lesno, near the conflux of the river Pronia and Sossa, which fall into the Boristhenes far below, but the czar appeared at the head of near forty thousand men.

The Swedish general, who had not sixteen thousand complete, disdained however the defence of intrenchments. A long train of victories had inspired the Swedes with so much confidence, that they never informed themselves of the number of their enemies, but only of the place where they were. Accordingly on the seventh of October, 1708, in the afternoon, Lewenhaupt, without hesitation, advanced against him. In the first attack the Swedes killed fifteen hundred Russians. The czar's army was thrown into confusion, and fled on all sides. The emperor of Russia saw himself upon the point of being entirely defeated. He was sensible that the safety of his dominions depended upon the success of this day, and that he would be utterly ruined, should Lewenhaupt join the king of Sweden with a victorious army.

The moment he saw his troops begin to give way, he flew to the rear guard, where the Cossacks and Calmucks were posted. "I charge you," said he, "to fire upon every one that runs away, even on me myself, should I be so cowardly as to fly." Returning then to the van, he rallied his troops himself, assisted by the princes Menzikoff and Gallicksin. Lewenhaupt, who had received strict orders to rejoin his master, chose rather to continue his march than renew the battle, imagining he had done enough to prevent the enemy from pursuing him.

Next morning, about eleven o'clock, the czar attacked him near a morass, and extended his lines with a view to surround him. The Swedes faced about on all sides, and the battle was maintained with equal obstinacy. The loss of the Muscovites was three times greater than that of the Swedes; the former, however, still kept their ground, and the victory was left undecided.

At four in the afternoon general Beyer brought the czar a reinforcement of troops. The battle was then renewed for the third time with more eagerness than ever, and lasted till night; when, at length, superior numbers prevailed; the Swedes were broke, routed, and

and driven back to their baggage. Lewenhaupt rallied his troops behind the waggons. The Swedes were conquered, but disdained to fly. They were still about nine thousand in number, and not so much as one of them deserted. The general drew them up in order of battle with as much ease as if they had not been defeated. The czar, on the other side, remained all night under arms, and forbade his officers, under pain of being cashiered, and his soldiers, under pain of death, to leave their ranks in order to plunder.

Next morning, at day break, he ordered a fresh assault. Mean time Lewenhaupt had retired to an advantageous situation at the distance of a few miles, after having nailed up part of his cannon, and set fire to his baggage waggons.

The Muscovites arrived time enough to prevent the whole convoy from being consumed by the flames. They seized about six thousand carriages, which they saved. The czar, desirous of completing the defeat of the Swedes, sent one of his generals, named Phlug, to attack them again for the fifth time. That general offered them an honourable capitulation. Lewenhaupt refused it, and fought a fifth battle, as bloody as any of the former. Of the nine thousand soldiers he had left, he lost about one half, the other remained unbroken. At length, night coming on, their Swedish general, after having sustained five battles against forty thousand men, passed the Sossa with about five thousand soldiers that remained. The czar lost about ten thousand men in these five engagements, in which he had the glory of conquering the Swedes; and Lewenhaupt that of disputing the victory for three days, and of effecting a retreat, without being compelled to surrender. Thus he arrived at his master's camp with the honour of having so bravely defended himself; but bringing with him neither ammunition nor army.

The king of Sweden thus found himself destitute of provisions, cut off from all communication with Poland,

land, and surrounded with enemies, in the heart of a country where he had no other resource than his own courage.

In this extremity, the memorable winter of 1709, which was still more severe in that part of Europe than in France, destroyed numbers of his troops, for Charles resolved to brave the seasons, as he had done his enemies, and ventured to make long marches during this mortal cold. It was in one of these marches that two thousand men fell down dead with cold before his eyes. The dragoons had no boots, and the infantry were without shoes, and almost without cloaths. They were forced to make stockings of the skins of wild beasts, in the best manner they could, and they were frequently in want of bread. They were obliged to throw almost all their cannon into the marshes and rivers, for want of horses to draw them; so that this once flourishing army was reduced to twenty four thousand men ready to perish with hunger. They no longer received any advices from Sweden, nor were able to send any thither. In this condition only one officer complained. "What," said the king to him, "are you uneasy at being so far from your wife? If you are a good soldier, I will lead you to such a distance, that you shall hardly be able to hear from Sweden once in three years."

The marquis de Bramcas, afterwards ambassador in Sweden, told me, that a soldier ventured, in presence of the whole army, to present to the king, with an air of complaint, a piece of bread that was black and mouldy, made of barley and oats, which was the only food they then had, and of which they had not even a sufficiency. The king received the bit of bread without the least emotion, eat it up, and then coolly said to the soldier, "It is not good, but it may be eaten." This incident, trifling as it is, if indeed any thing that increases respect and confidence can be called trifling, contributed more than all the rest to make the Swedish army support those hardships, which would have been intolerable under any other general.

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In this situation he at last received news from Stockholm, by which he was informed of the death of his sister, the dutchess of Holstein, who was carried off by the small pox, in the month of December 1708, in the twenty seventh year of her age. She was a princess as mild and gentle, as her brother was imperious in his disposition, and implacable in his revenge. He had always entertained a great affection for her; and was the more afflicted with her death, as, now beginning to taste of misfortunes himself, he was of course become a little more susceptible.

He was now likewise informed, that money and troops had been raised in Sweden, agreeable to his orders; but nothing could reach his camp, as between him and Stockholm there were near five hundred leagues to march, and an enemy superior in number to engage.

The czar, who was as active as the king, after having sent fresh troops to the assistance of the confederates in Poland, who, under the command of general Siniaufski, exerted their joint efforts against Stanislaus, immediately advanced into the Ukraine, in the midst of this severe winter, to make head against his Swedish majesty. He continued to pursue the political scheme he had formed of weakening his enemies by petty rencounters, wisely judging that the Swedish army must in the end be entirely ruined, as it could not possibly be recruited. The cold must certainly have been very severe, as it obliged the two monarchs to agree to a suspension of arms. But yet, on the first of February, they renewed their military operations, in the midst of frost and snow.

After several slight skirmishes, and some losses, the king perceived, in the month of April, that he had only eighteen thousand Swedes remaining. Mazeppa, the prince of the Cossacks, supplied them with provisions, without which assistance the army must have perished with cold and hunger. At this conjuncture the czar made proposals to Mazeppa, for submitting again to his authority. But whether it was that the

terrible punishment of the wheel, by which his friends had perished, made the Cossack apprehend the same danger for himself, or that he was desirous of revenging their death, he continued faithful to his new ally.

Charles, with but eighteen thousand Swedes, had neither lost the design nor the hope of penetrating into Moscow. He therefore towards the end of May laid siege to Pultowa, upon the river Voroskla, at the eastern extremity of the Ukraine, and thirty leagues from the Boristhenes. This country is inhabited by the Zaporavians, the most remarkable people on the earth. They are a collection of ancient Russians, Poles, and Tartars, professing a species of christianity, and exercising a kind of free-booting, somewhat a-kin to that of the buccaneers. They elect a chief whom they frequently depose or strangle. They suffer no woman to live among them; but carry off all the children for twenty or thirty leagues around, and bring them up in their own manners. In the summer they always live in the open fields; in the winter they shelter themselves in large barns, which contain four or five hundred men. They fear nothing, live free, and brave death for the smallest booty, with the same intrepidity as Charles XII. did, in order to obtain the power of bestowing crowns. The czar gave them sixty thousand florins, in hopes to engage them in his interest. They took his money, but, through the intrigues of Mazeppa, immediately declared in favour of Charles; though their service was of very little consequence, as they esteem it a folly to fight for any thing but plunder. It was no small advantage, however, that they were prevented from doing harm. The number of their troops was at most but about two thousand. Ten of their chiefs were presented, one morning, to the king; but they had great difficulty to prevail on them to remain sober, as they commonly begin the day by getting drunk. They were brought to the intrenchments, where they shewed their dexterity in firing with long carbines;

for

for being placed upon the mounds, they killed, at the distances of two hundred paces, such of the enemy as were pointed out. To these banditti Charles added several thousand Walachians, whom he had hired from the Cham of Little Tartary. He then laid siege to Pultowa, with all these troops of Zaporavians, Cossacks, and Walachians; which, joined to his eighteen thousand Swedes, made up an army of about thirty thousand men, but an army in a wretched condition, and in want of every thing. The czar had formed a magazine in Pultowa, which, if the king had taken, he would have opened himself a way to Muscovy; and have been able, at least, amidst the great abundance he would then possess, to wait the arrival of the succours which he still expected from Sweden, Livonia, Pomerania and Poland. His only resource therefore being in the conquest of Pultowa, he pressed the siege of it with great ardour. Mazepa, who carried on a correspondence in that city, assured him that he would soon be master of it; this hope re-animated the whole army; for the soldiers considered the taking of Pultowa as the end of all their miseries.

The king perceived, from the beginning of the siege, that he had taught his enemies the art of war. For, in spite of all his precautions, prince Menzikoff threw succours into the town; by which means the garrison beheld itself fortified with almost five thousand men.

They made several sallies, and sometimes with success: they likewise sprung a mine; but what rendered the town impenetrable was the approach of the czar, who advanced with seventy thousand men. Charles went to reconnoitre them on the twenty seventh of May, the day of his birth, and beat one of their detachments; but as he was returning to his camp, he received a shot from a carbine, which pierced his boot, and shattered the bone of his heel. There was not the least alteration observable in his countenance, from which it could be suspected that he was wounded;

ed; he continued to give orders with great composure, and after this accident remained near six hours on horseback. One of his domestics observing that the sole of the king's boot was covered with blood, ran to call the surgeons; and the pain was now become so exquisite, that they were obliged to assist him in dismounting, and to carry him into his tent. The surgeons examined the wound; and were of opinion that the leg must be cut off. The consternation of the army on this occasion was inexpressible. Till one of the surgeons, named Newman, who had more skill and courage than the rest, affirmed, that by making deep incisions he could save the king's leg. "Fall to work then, presently," said the king to him, "cut boldly, and fear nothing." He himself held his leg with both his hands, and beheld the incisions that were made in it, as if the operation had been performed upon another person.

While they were laying on the dressings, he ordered an assault to be made the next day; but he had hardly given this order, before he was informed that the whole army of the enemy was advancing against him. It became then necessary to alter his measures. Charles, wounded and incapable of acting, saw himself situated between the Boristhenes and the river that runs to Pultowa, in a desert country, without any places of security, without ammunition, and in the face of an army, which at once cut off his retreat, and prevented his being supplied with provisions. In this extremity he did not assemble a council of war, as, considering the perplexed situation of his affairs, he ought to have done; but on the seventh or eighth of July, in the evening, he sent for velt-mareschal Renschild into his tent; and without deliberation, or the least discomposure, ordered him to make the necessary dispositions for attacking the czar next day. Renschild made no objections, and went to carry his orders into execution. At the door of the king's tent he met count Piper, with whom he had had a misunderstanding for some time, which frequently happens between

tween the minister and the general. Piper asked him if he had any news: "No," said the general coldly, and passed on to give his orders. As soon as count Piper had entered the tent; "Has Renschild told you "nothing?" said the king; "Nothing," answered Piper: "Well then I will tell you," replied the king; "To-morrow we shall give battle." Count Piper was astonished at so desperate a resolution: but as he well knew it was impossible to make his master change his mind, he expressed his surprize only by his silence, and left Charles to sleep till break of day.

It was on the 8th of July, 1709, that the decisive battle of Pultowa was fought between the two most famous monarchs that were then in the world. Charles XII. illustrious for nine years of victories, Peter Alexiowitz for nine years of pains, taken to form troops equal to those of Sweden; the one glorious for having given away dominions; the other for having civilized his own: Charles, fond of dangers, and fighting for glory alone; Alexiowitz, scorning to fly from danger, and never making war but from interested views: the Swedish monarch liberal from a greatness of soul; the Muscovite never granting favours but with some view: the former possessed of a sobriety and self denial without example, naturally magnanimous, and never cruel but once; the latter having not yet worn off the roughness of his education, or the barbarity of his country, as much the object of terror to his subjects, as of admiration to strangers, and too prone to excesses, which even shortened his days. Charles had the title of "Invincible," of which a single moment might deprive him; the neighbouring nations had given Peter Alexiowitz the name of "Great," which, as he did not owe it to his victories, he could not lose by a defeat.

To have a distinct idea of this battle, and the place where it was fought, we must figure to ourselves Pultowa on the north, the camp of the king of Sweden on the south, stretching a little towards the east, his baggage about a mile behind him, and the river of Pultowa

Pultowa on the north of the town, running from east to west.

The czar had passed the river about a league from Pultowa, towards the west, and was beginning to form his camp.

At break of day the Swedes appeared before the trenches with four iron cannons of their whole artillery; the rest were left in the camp, with about three thousand men, and four thousand remained with the baggage; so that the Swedish army which advanced against the enemy, consisted of about one and twenty thousand men, of which there were about sixteen thousand Swedes.

The generals Renschild, Roos, Lewenhaupt, Slipenback, Hoorn, Sparre, Hamilton, the prince of Wirtemburgh, the king's relations, and some others, the greatest part of whom had seen the battle of Narva, put the subaltern officers in mind of that day, wherein eight thousand Swedes defeated an army of eighty thousand Muscovites in their entrenchments. The officers exhorted the soldiers by the same motive, every one encouraging each other in their march.

The king, carried in a litter at the head of his infantry, conducted the march. A party of the cavalry advanced by his order to attack that of the enemy; and the battle began with this engagement at half an hour past four in the morning. The enemy's cavalry was posted towards the west, on the right side of the Russian camp. Prince Menzikoff and count Gallowin had placed them at certain distances between redoubts lined with cannon. General Slipenback, at the head of the Swedes, rushed upon them. All those who have served in the Swedish troops know that it is almost impossible to withstand the fury of their first attack. The Muscovite squadrons were broken and routed. The czar, who ran up to rally them in person, had his hat pierced with a musket ball; Menzikoff had three horses killed under him; and the Swedes cried out, "Victory."

Charles

Charles did not doubt but the battle was gained: he had sent, in the middle of the night, general Creutz, with five thousand horse or dragoons, who were to take the enemy in flank, while he attacked them in front; but, as his ill fortune would have it, Creutz mistook his way and did not appear. The czar, who thought he was ruined, had time to rally his cavalry. He now in his turn fell upon that of the king, which, not being supported by the detachment of Creutz, was likewise broken. Slipenback was taken prisoner in this engagement. At the same time seventy two pieces of cannon played from the camp upon the Swedish cavalry; and the Russian infantry, opening their lines, advanced to attack that of Charles.

The czar now detached prince Menzikoff to go and post himself between Pultowa and the Swedes. Prince Menzikoff executed his master's orders with dexterity and expedition; and not only cut off the communication between the Swedish army and the camp before Pultowa, but, having met with a corps de reserve of three thousand men, he surrounded them and cut them to pieces. If Menzikoff performed this exploit of his own accord, Russia owes its preservation to him: if it was by the order of the czar, he was an adversary worthy of Charles XII. Meanwhile the Russian infantry came out of their lines, and advanced into the plain in order of battle. On the other hand, the Swedish cavalry rallied within a quarter of a league from the enemy; and the king, assisted by velt-mareschal Renschild, made the necessary disposition for a general engagement.

He ranged the remainder of his troops in two lines, his infantry occupying the center, and his cavalry the two wings. The czar disposed his army in the same manner; he, however, had the advantage of numbers, and of seventy-two pieces of cannon, while the Swedes had no more than four to oppose him, and began to be in want of powder.

The emperor of Muscovy was in the center of his army, having then only the title of major-general, and

and seemed to obey general Zermetoff. But he rode from rank to rank in the character of emperor, mounted on a Turkish horse, which was a present from the grand seignior, animating the captains and soldiers, and promising rewards to them all.

At nine in the morning the battle was renewed; one of the first discharges of the Russian cannon carried off the two horses of Charles's litter. He caused two others to be put to it. A second discharge broke the litter in pieces, and overturned the king. Of four and twenty Drabants, who relieved each other in carrying him, one and twenty were killed. The Swedes, struck with consternation, began to stagger; and the cannon of the enemy continuing to mow them down, the first line fell back upon the second, and the second began to fly. In this last action it was only one line of ten thousand Russian infantry that routed the whole Swedish army; so much were matters changed!

All the Swedish writers affirm, that they would have gained the battle, if they had not committed several blunders; but the officers pretend that it was a great blunder to give battle at all, and a greater still to shut themselves up in a desert country, against the advice of the most prudent generals, in opposition to a warlike enemy, three times stronger than Charles, both in number of men, and the many resources from which the Swedes were entirely cut off. The remembrance of Narva was the principal cause of Charles's misfortune at Pultowa.

The prince of Wirtemberg, general Renschild, and several principal officers, were already made prisoners; the camp before Pultowa was stormed; and all was thrown into a confusion, against which they had no remedy. Count Piper, with some officers of the chancery, had left the camp, and neither knew what to do, nor what was become of the king; but ran about from one corner of the plain to the other. A major, named Bere, offered to conduct them to the baggage; but the clouds of dust and smoke which covered the plain,

plain, and the confusion of ideas so natural amidst such a desolation, brought them strait to the counter-scarp of the town, where they were all made prisoners by the garrison.

The king, though he was unable to defend himself, scorned to fly. It was at this instant that general Poniatowsky, happened to be near him, a colonel of Stanislaus's Swedish guards, a man of extraordinary merit, who had been induced, from his attachment to the person of Charles, to follow him into the Ukraine, without possessing any command. He was a man, who, in all the occurrences of life, and amidst those dangers in which others would at most have displayed their courage, always took his measures with dispatch, prudence, and success. He made a sign to two Drabants, who took the king under the arm, and placed him on his horse, notwithstanding the extreme pain of his wounds.

Poniatowsky, though he had no command in the army, became on this occasion a general through necessity, and rallied five hundred horse near the king's person; some of them Drabants, others officers, and a few private troopers. This body being assembled, and animated by the misfortune of their prince, made their way through more than ten Russian regiments, and conducted Charles through the midst of the enemy for the space of a league, to the baggage of the Swedish army.

Charles, being pursued in his flight, had his horse killed under him; and colonel Gieta, though wounded and spent with loss of blood, gave him his. Thus in the course of the flight they twice put this conqueror on horseback, though he had not been able to mount a horse during the engagement.

This surprizing retreat was of great consequence in such distressful circumstances; but he was obliged to fly still further. They found count Piper's coach among the baggage; for the king had never used one since he left Stockholm: they put him into this vehicle, and took their rout towards the Boristhenes with
great

great precipitation. The king, who, from the time they put him on horseback, till his arrival at the baggage, had not spoke a single word, at length enquired what was become of count Piper. They told him he was taken prisoner, with all the officers of the chancery. "And general Renschild and the duke of Wirtemberg?" added the king. "Yes," says Poniatowsky. "Prisoners to the Russians!" resumed Charles, shrugging up his shoulders; "Come then, let us rather go to the Turks." They could not perceive, however, the least mark of dejection in his countenance; and had any seen him at that time, without knowing his situation, he would never have suspected that he was conquered and wounded.

While he was getting off, the Russians seized his artillery in the camp before Pultowa, his baggage, and his military-chest, in which they found six millions in specie, the spoils of Poland and Saxony. About nine thousand men, Swedes and Cossacks, were killed in the battle, and about six thousand taken prisoners. There still remained about sixteen thousand men, including the Swedes, Poles, and Cossacks, who fled towards the Boristhenes, under the conduct of general Lewenhaupt. He marched one way with these fugitive troops; and the king took another road with some of his horse. The coach in which he rode broke down in their march, and they again set him on horseback. To compleat his misfortune, he wandered all night in a wood; where, his courage being no longer able to support his exhausted spirits, the pain of his wound becoming more intolerable through fatigue, and his horse falling under him through weariness, he lay several hours at the foot of a tree, in danger of being surprised every moment by the conquerors, who were searching for him on all sides.

At last, in the night of the ninth or tenth of July, he found himself opposite to the Boristhenes. Lewenhaupt had just arrived with the remains of his army. The Swedes beheld, with a mixture of joy and grief,
their

their king whom they believed dead. The enemy was approaching, and the Swedes had neither a bridge to pass the river, time to make one, powder to defend themselves, nor provision to support an army, which had eat nothing for two days. At the same time, the remains of this army were Swedes, and the conquered king was Charles XII. Almost all the officers imagined, that they were to wait there with firmness for the Russians; and that they should either conquer or die on the banks of the Boristhenes. There was no doubt but Charles would have taken this resolution, had he not been exhausted with weakness. His wound was now come to a suppuration, attended with a fever; and it hath been remarked, that men of the greatest intrepidity, when seized with a fever, that is common in suppuration, lose that impulse to valour, which, like other virtues, requires the direction of a clear head. Charles was now no longer himself. This has been assured me, and what indeed is very probable. They carried him along like a sick person in a state of insensibility. There was yet, by good luck, a sorry calash, which they accidentally had brought thither with them. This they put on board a little boat; and the king and general Mazeppa embarked in another. The latter had saved several coffers full of money; but the current being too rapid, and a violent wind beginning to rise, the Cossack threw more than three-fourths of his treasures into the river to lighten the boat. Mullern, the king's chancellor, and count Poniatowsky, a man more necessary to the king than ever, by the resources which his ingenuity furnished in every difficulty, crossed over in other barks, with some officers. Three hundred of the Swedish cavalry, and a great number of Poles and Cossacks, trusting to the goodness of their horses, ventured to pass the river by swimming. Their troop keeping close together, resisted the current, and broke the waves; but all those who attempted to pass a little below, were carried down by the stream, and perished in the river. Of the infantry who risked the passage, not one arrived on the opposite shore.

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While the shattered remains of the army were in this extremity, prince Menzikoff approached with ten thousand horsemen, having each a foot-soldier behind him. The carcases of the Swedes, who had died by the way, of their wounds, fatigue, and hunger, sufficiently apprized him of the road which the fugitive army had taken. The prince sent a trumpet to the Swedish general, to offer him a capitulation. Four general officers were immediately dispatched by Lewenhaupt to receive the commands of the conqueror. Before that day, sixteen thousand soldiers of king Charles would have attacked the whole forces of the Russian empire, and would have perished to a man rather than surrender. But after the loss of a battle, and flight of two days, deprived of the presence of their prince, who was himself constrained to fly, the strength of every soldier being exhausted, and their courage no longer supported by hope, the love of life overcame their natural intrepidity. Colonel Troutsetre alone, observing the Muscovites approach, advanced with one Swedish battalion to attack them, hoping by this means to induce the rest of the troops to follow his example. But Lewenhaupt was obliged to oppose this unavailing ardour. The capitulation was settled, and the whole army were made prisoners of war. Some soldiers, in despair at the thoughts of falling into the hands of the Muscovites, precipitated themselves into the Boristhenes. Two officers of the regiment of the brave Troutsetre, killed each other, and the rest were made slaves. They all filed off in the presence of prince Menzikoff, laying their arms at his feet, as thirty thousand Muscovites had done nine years before at those of the king of Sweden, at Narva. But whereas the king sent back all the Russians, whom he did not fear, the czar retained the Swedes that were taken at Pultowa.

These unhappy creatures were afterwards dispersed through the czar's dominions, particularly in Siberia, a vast province of Great Tartary, which extends eastward to the frontiers of the Chinese empire. In this barbarous country, where even the use of bread was unknown, the Swedes, become ingenious through
neces-

necessity, exercised the trades and employments of which they had the least notion. All the distinctions which fortune makes among men, were there banished. The officer, who could not follow any trade, was obliged to cleave, and carry wood, for the soldier, now turned taylor, clothier, joiner, mason, or goldsmith, and who earned his subsistence. Some of the officers became painters, and others architects; some of them taught the languages and mathematicks. They even established some public schools, which in time became so useful and famous, that children were sent thither from Moscow.

Count Piper, the king of Sweden's first minister, was for a long time confined in prison at Petersburg. The czar was persuaded, as well as the rest of Europe, that this minister had sold his master to the duke of Marlborough, and drawn on Muscovy the arms of Sweden, which might have given peace to Europe. He, therefore, rendered his confinement the more severe. This minister died a few years after in Muscovy, little assisted by his own family, who lived in opulence at Stockholm, and vainly lamented by his king, who would never condescend to offer a ransom for his minister, which he feared the czar would not accept of; as no cartel of exchange had ever been settled between Charles and the czar.

The emperor of Muscovy, elated with a joy which he took no pains to conceal, received upon the field of battle the prisoners, whom they brought to him in crouds; and asked every moment, "Where then is my brother Charles?"

He did the Swedish generals the honour of inviting them to his table. Among other questions which he put to them, he asked general Renschild, "what might be the number of his master's troops before the battle?" Renschild answered, "that the king alone had the muster-roll, and would never communicate it to any one; but that, for his own part, he imagined the whole might be about thirty thousand, of which eighteen thousand were Swedes, and the rest Cossacks." The czar seemed to be surprized,

and asked "how they durst venture to penetrate "into so distant a country, and lay siege to Pultowa "with such a handful of men?" "We were not always consulted," replied the Swedish general, "but, "like faithful servants, we obeyed our master's orders, "without ever presuming to contradict them." The czar, at this answer, turned about to some of his courtiers, who were formerly suspected of having engaged in a conspiracy against him: "Ah! (says he) "see "how a king ought to be served;" and then taking a glass of wine, "To the health," says he, "of my "masters in the art of war." Renschild asked him who were the persons whom he honoured with so high a title? "You, gentlemen, the Swedish generals," replied the czar. "Your majesty is very ungrateful, then," replied the count, "to treat your masters with so "much severity." After dinner the czar caused their swords to be restored to all the general officers, and behaved to them like a prince who wished to give his subjects a lesson of generosity and politeness, with which he was well acquainted. But this very prince, who treated the Swedish generals with so much humanity, caused all the Cossacks that fell into his hands to be broke upon the wheel.

Thus the Swedish army, which left Saxony so triumphantly, was now no more. One half of them had perished with hunger, and the other half were either massacred or made slaves. Charles XII. had lost in one day the fruit of nine years labour, and of almost an hundred battles. He made his escape in a wretched calash, having by his side major-general Hoord, who was dangerously wounded. The rest of his troops followed, some on foot, some on horseback, and others in waggons, through a desert, where they neither saw huts, tents, men, beasts nor roads; every thing was wanting, even to water itself. It was now the beginning of July; the country lay in the forty-seventh degree of latitude; the dry sand of the desert rendered the heat of the sun more insupportable; the horses dropt down by the way; and the men were ready to die with thirst. A brook of muddy water, which they found

found towards evening, was all they met with; they filled some bottles with this water, which saved the lives of the king's little troop. After a march of five days, he at last found himself on the banks of the river Hypanis, now called Bogh by the barbarians, who have disfigured the very names of those countries, which once flourished so nobly in the possession of the Greek colonies. This river joins the Boristhenes some miles lower, and falls along with it into the Black Sea.

On the other side of the Bogh, towards the south, stands the little town of Oczakou, a frontier of the Turkish empire. The inhabitants seeing a body of soldiers approach, to whose dress and language they were strangers, refused to carry them over the river, without an order from Mehemet Bascha, governor of Oczakou. The king sent an express to the governor, to demand a passage; this Turk, not knowing what to do, in a country where one false step frequently costs a man his life, did not dare to take any thing upon himself, without having first obtained the permission of the seraskier of the province, who resides at Bender in Bessarabia. While they were waiting for this permission, the Russians who had made the king's army prisoners, had crossed the Boristhenes, and were approaching to take him also. At last the bascha of Oczakou sent word to the king, that he would furnish him with one small boat, to transport himself and two or three of his attendants. In this extremity the Swedes took by force what they could not obtain by gentle means: some of them went over to the further side in a small skiff, seized on some boats, and brought them to the hither bank of the river. This proved their safe-guard; for the masters of the Turkish barks, fearing they should lose such a favourable opportunity of getting a good freight, came in crowds to offer their service. At the same time that arrived the favourable answer of the seraskier of Bender, the king had the mortification to see five hundred of his men seized by the enemy, whose insulting bravadoes he even heard. The bascha of Oczakou, by means of

an interpreter, asked his pardon for the delays which had occasioned the loss of these five hundred men, and humbly entreated him not to complain of it to the grand seignior. Charles promised, but not without giving him as severe a reprimand, as if he had been speaking to one of his own subjects.

The commander of Bender, who was likewise seraskier, a title which answers to that of general, a basha of the province, which signifies governor and intendant, immediately sent an aga to compliment the king, and to offer him a magnificent tent, with provision, baggage, waggons, and all the conveniences, officers, and attendants necessary to conduct him to Bender in a splendid manner; for it is the custom of the Turks, not only to defray the charges of ambassadors to the place of their residence, but likewise to supply, with great liberality, the necessities of those princes who take refuge among them, during the time of their stay.

B O O K V.

A R G U M E N T.

State of the Ottoman Porte:—Charles takes up his Abode near Bender: his Employments: his Intrigues at the Porte: his Designs: Augustus regains his Throne: the King of Denmark makes a Descent upon Sweden: all the other Dominions of Charles are attacked: the Czar enters Moscow in Triumph: the Affair of Pruth: the History of the Czarina: who from a Peasant became an Empress.

ACHMET III. at that time governed the Turkish empire. He had been placed upon the throne, in 1703, in the room of his brother Mustapha, by a revolution like to that which transferred the crown of England from James II. to his son-in-law William. Mustapha, by submitting in every thing to his musti, whom

whom the Turks abhorred, provoked the whole empire to rise against him. His army, by the assistance of which he hoped to punish the malecontents, joined his enemies. He was seized and deposed in form; and his brother taken from the seraglio in order to be created sultan, almost without spilling a single drop of blood. Achmet shut up the deposed sultan in the seraglio at Constantinople, where he lived for several years, to the great astonishment of Turkey, who had been accustomed to see the death of her princes immediately follow their dethronement.

The new sultan, as the only recompence for a crown which he owed to the ministers, to the generals, to the officers of the janissaries, and in a word to those who had had any hand in the revolution, put them all to death, one after another, for fear they should one day attempt a second revolution. By the sacrifice of so many brave men, he weakened the strength of the nation; but at the same time established his throne, at least for some years. He next applied himself to amass riches, and was the first of the Ottoman race, that ventured to make a small alteration in the current coin, and to impose new taxes; but he has been obliged to drop both these enterprizes, for fear of an insurrection. The rapacity and tyranny of the grand seignior are seldom extended farther than the officers of the empire, who, whatever they may be in other respects, are domestic slaves to the sultan; but the rest of the mussulmen live in profound tranquility, secure of their lives, their fortune, and their liberty.

Such was the Turkish emperor, in whose territories the king of Sweden sought an asylum. As soon as he set foot in the sultan's dominions, he wrote him a letter, which bears date the 13th of July, 1709. Several copies of this letter were spread abroad, all of which are now held spurious; but of all those I have seen, there is not one which does not mark the haughtiness of the author, and is more conformable to his courage, than his situation. The

sultan did not return him an answer till towards the end of September. The pride of the Ottoman porte made Charles sensible of the difference between a Turkish emperor, and a king of part of Scandinavia, a conquered and fugitive christian. As for the rest, there were such letters as kings seldom write themselves, and are but vain formalities, which neither discover the character of the princes, nor the state of their affairs.

Charles XII. was in effect no better than a prisoner honourably treated in Turkey; yet, notwithstanding, he formed the design of arming the Ottoman empire against his enemies, and flattered himself that he should reduce Poland under the yoke, and subdue Russia. He had an envoy at Constantinople; but the person that served him most effectually in his vast projects, was the count de Poniatowsky, who went to Constantinople without a mission, and soon rendered himself necessary to the king, agreeable to the porte, and at last dangerous to the grand viziers themselves.*

One of those who seconded his designs with the greatest activity, was the physician Fonseca, a Portuguese jew, settled at Constantinople, a man of knowledge and address, well qualified for the management of business, and perhaps the only philosopher of his nation; his profession procured him a free access to the Ottoman porte, and frequently gained him the confidence of viziers. With this gentleman I was very well acquainted at Paris; who confirmed to me all the particulars I am going to relate. Count Poniatowsky hath informed me, both by letters and by word of mouth, that he had the address to convey some letters to the sultane's Valide, the mother of the reigning emperor, who had formerly been ill-used by her son, but now began

* It was from this nobleman I received not only the remarks which have been published, and of which the chaplain Norberg hath made use, but likewise several other manuscripts relating to this history.

to recover her influence in the seraglio. A jewess, who was often admitted to this princess, never ceased to recount to her the exploits of the king of Sweden, and charmed her ear by these relations. The sultaneß, moved by that secret inclination with which most women feel themselves inspired in favour of extraordinary men, even without having seen them, openly espoused this prince's cause in the seraglio, whom she called by no other name than that of her lion. "When will you," would she sometimes say to the sultan her son, "assist my lion to devour this czar?" She even so far dispensed with the austere rules of the seraglio, as to write several letters with her own hand to count Poniatowsky, in whose custody they still are, at the time of my writing this history.

Mean while they conducted the king with all honour to Bender, through the desert that was formerly called the wilderness of the Getæ. The Turks took care that nothing should be wanting on the way to render his journey agreeable. A great many Poles, Swedes, and Cossacks, who had escaped from the Muscovites, came by different roads to increase his train on their march. By the time he reached Bender, he had eight hundred men, who were all maintained and lodged, they and their horses, at the expence of the grand seignior.

The king chose to encamp near Bender, rather than lodge in the town. The seraskier Jussuf Bascha, caused a magnificent tent to be erected for him; and tents were likewise provided for all the lords of his retinue. Some time after, Charles built a house in this place, the officers followed his example, and the soldiers raised barracks; so that this camp insensibly became a little town. The king not being yet cured of his wound, he was obliged to have a carious bone extracted from his foot: But as soon as he could mount a horse, he resumed his usual labours, always rising before the sun, tiring three horses a day, and exercising his soldiers. By way of amusement,

usement, he sometimes played at chess; and, as the characters of men are often discovered by the most trifling incidents, it may not be improper to observe, that he always advanced the king first at that game, and made greater use of him than of any of the other men; by which means he almost always lost.

At Bender Charles beheld himself amidst every abundance of life, an extraordinary situation for a conquered prince and a fugitive; for besides the more than sufficient quantity of provisions, and the five hundred crowns a day, which he received from the Ottoman munificence, he still drew money from France, and borrowed of the merchants at Constantinople. A part of this money served to forward his intrigues in the seraglio, in buying the favours of the viziers, or procuring their ruin. The rest he squandered away with great profusion among his officers, and the janissaries who composed his guards at Bender. Grothusen, his favourite and treasurer, was the dispenser of his liberality; a man, who, contrary to the custom of persons in that station, was as fond of giving as his master. He carried him one day an account of sixty thousand crowns in two lines; ten thousand crowns given to the Swedes and janissaries, by the generous orders of his majesty, and the rest eat up by myself: "It is thus" "I would have my friends give in their accounts," said the king. "Mullern makes me read whole" "pages for the sum of ten thousand livres, I like" "the laconic stile of Grothusen much better." One of his old officers, who was suspected of being somewhat covetous, complained to him, that his majesty gave all to Grothusen: "I give money," replies the king, "to none but those who know" "how to use it." This generosity frequently reduced him so low, that he had not wherewith to give. More oeconomy in his liberality would have been as honourable, and more for his interest; but it was the failing of this prince to carry every virtue to excess.

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Great numbers of strangers went from Constantinople to see him. The Turks and the neighbouring Tartars came thither in crouds: all respected and admired him. His inflexible resolution to abstain from wine, and his regularity in assisting twice a day at public prayers, made them say, "This is a true Musfulman." And they burned with impatience to march along with him to the conquest of Muscovy.

During his stay at Bender, which was much longer than he expected, he insensibly acquired a taste for reading. Baron Fabricius, a gentleman of the duke of Holstein, a young man of an amiable character, who possessed that gaiety of temper, and easy turn of wit, which is so agreeable to princes, was the person who engaged him in these literary amusements. He had been sent to reside with him at Bender to take care of the interests of the young duke of Holstein; and he succeeded therein by his rendering himself agreeable. He had read all the best French authors. He persuaded the king to read the tragedies of Peter Corneille, those of Racine, and the works of Despreaux. The king had no relish for the satires of the last author, which indeed are far from being his best pieces; but he was very fond of his other writings. When he read that passage of the eighth satire, where the author treats Alexander as a fool and a madman, he tore out the leaf.

Of all the French tragedies, Mithridates was the one which pleased him most, because the situation of that monarch, who, though vanquished, still breathed revenge, was conformable to his own. He shewed Mr. Fabricius the passages that struck him, pointing them out with his finger; but would never read any of them aloud, nor ever hazard a single word in French. Nay, when he afterwards saw Mr. Desaleurs, the French ambassador at the Porte, a man of distinguished merit, but acquainted only with his mother-tongue, he answered him in Latin; of which, when Mr. Desaleurs protested he did not understand

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four words; the king, rather than talk French, sent for an interpreter.

This was the employment of Charles XII. at Bender, where he waited till a Turkish army should come to his assistance. His envoy presented memorials in his name to the grand vizier; and Poniatowsky supported them with all his interest. This gentleman's address succeeded in every thing; he was always dressed in the Turkish fashion, and had free access to every place. The grand seignior presented him with a purse of a thousand ducats, and the grand vizier said to him, "I will take your king in one hand, and a sword in the other; and will lead him to Moscow at the head of two hundred thousand men." This grand vizier was called Chourlouli Ali Basha; he was the son of a peasant of the village of Chorlou. Such an extraction is not held as a reproach among the Turks, who have no ranks of nobility, neither that which is annexed to certain employments, nor that which consists in titles. With them the dignity and importance of a man's character depends entirely upon his personal services; a custom which prevails in most of the eastern countries; and indeed a custom the most natural, and might be productive of the most beneficial effects, if posts of honour were conferred on none but men of merit; but the viziers for the most part are no better than the creatures of a black eunuch, or a favorite female slave.

The first minister, however, soon changed his mind. The king could do nothing but negotiate; but the czar could give money, which he did; and even made the money of Charles serve him on this occasion. The military chest which he took at Pultowa, furnished him with new arms against the vanquished king; and it was no longer the question at court, whether war should be made upon the Russians. The interest of the czar was all-powerful at the Porte, which obtained such honours to his envoy as the Muscovite ministers had never before enjoyed at Constantinople: they permitted him to have a seraglio, that is to say, a palace in
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the quarter of the Franks, and the liberty of conversing with other foreign ministers. The czar even thought he might demand that general Mazeppa should be put into his hands, as Charles had caused the unhappy Patkul to be delivered up to him. Chourlouli Ali Basha knew not how to refuse any thing to a prince who made his demands with millions in his hand: thus the very same grand vizier, who had before promised in the most solemn manner to lead the king of Sweden into Muscovy with two hundred thousand men, dared to propose to him the consenting to the sacrifice of general Mazeppa. Charles was enraged at this demand. It is hard to say how far the vizier might have pushed the affair, had not Mazeppa, who was now seventy years of age, died exactly at this juncture. The grief and indignation of the king were greatly augmented, when he learned that Tolstoy, now become the czar's ambassador at the Porte, was publicly attended by the Swedes that had been made slaves at Pultowa, and that those brave soldiers were every day exposed to sale in the market at Constantinople. Nay, the Russian ambassador was wont to say, with great haughtiness, that the Mussulman troops at Bender were placed there more with a view to secure the king's person, than to do him any honour.

Charles, abandoned by the grand vizier, and vanquished by the czar's money in Turkey, as he had before been by his arms in the Ukraine, saw himself deceived and despised by the Porte, and almost a prisoner among the Tartars. His attendants began to despair. Himself alone remained firm, and never appeared dejected even for a moment. The sultan he believed ignorant of the intrigues of Chourlouli Ali, his grand vizier, he resolved therefore to acquaint him with them, and Poniatowsky took the charge of this hazardous enterprize. The grand seignior goes every Friday to the mosque, surrounded by his solaks, a kind of guards, whose turbans are ornamented with such high feathers that they conceal the sultan from the sight of the people. When any one has a petition to present

present to the grand seignior, he endeavours to mingle with the guards, and holds the petition aloft. Sometimes the sultan deigns to receive it himself; but he oftener orders an aga to take charge of it, and has the petitions brought to him on his return from the mosque. There is no fear of any one daring to importune him with useless memorials and trifling petitions, as they write less at Constantinople in a whole year than they do at Paris in one day. There is still less danger of any memorials being presented against the ministers, to whom the sultan often sends them without reading. Poniatowsky had only this method to convey the king of Sweden's complaint to the grand seignior. He drew up a heavy charge against the grand vizier. Mr. de Feriol, then the French ambassador, and who gave me an account of the whole affair, had the memorial translated into the Turkish tongue. A Greek was hired to present it: this Greek having mingled with the guards of the grand seignior, held the paper so high for a long time, and made such a noise, that the sultan observed him, and took the memorial himself.

This method of presenting memorials to the sultan against his viziers was frequently employed. A Swede, called Leloing, gave in another petition a few days after. Thus in the Turkish empire was Charles XII. reduced to the necessity of employing the same expedients with an oppressed subject.

Some days after this, the sultan sent the king of Sweden, as the only answer to his complaints, five and twenty Arabian horses, one of which, that had carried his highness, was covered with a saddle and housings enriched with precious stones, with stirrups of massy gold. This present was accompanied with an obliging letter, but conceived in general terms, and such as gave reason to suspect that the minister had done nothing without the sultan's consent. Chourlouli too, who knew the art of dissembling, sent the king five very curious horses. But Charles, with a lofty air, said to the person that brought them; "return
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"to your master, and tell him I never receive a present from an enemy."

Poniatowsky having already dared to present a memorial against the grand vizier, he next formed the bold design of deposing him. He knew that this vizier was disagreeable to the sultaness mother, that Kissar aga, the chief of the black eunuchs, and the aga of the janissaries, also hated him; he therefore prompted them all three to speak against him. It was something very surprising to see a Christian, a Pole, an uncommissioned agent of the king of Sweden, who had taken refuge among the Turks, caballing almost openly at the porte against a viceroy of the Ottoman empire, who, at the same time, was both an able minister and a favorite of his master. Poniatowsky could never have succeeded, and the idea alone would have cost him his life, if a power superior to all those that operated in his favour had not given a finishing stroke to the fortune of the grand vizier Chourlouli.

The sultan had a young favourite, who afterwards governed the Ottoman empire, and was killed in Hungary in 1716, at the battle of Peterwaradin, gained over the Turks by prince Eugene of Savoy. His name was Coumourgi Ali Basha. His birth was very little different from that of Chourlouli; being the son of a coal-heaver, as Coumourgi signifies, Coumour in the Turkish language signifying coal. The emperor Achmet II. uncle of Achmet III. having met Coumourgi, while yet an infant, in a little wood near Adrianopli, was struck with his extreme beauty, and caused him to be conducted to the seraglio. He was beloved by Mustapha, the eldest son and successor of Mahomet; and Achmet III. made him his favorite. He had then no other place but that of felictar-aga, sword-bearer to the crown. His extreme youth did not allow him to make any pretensions to the post of grand vizier; but yet he had the ambition to aspire to it. The Swedish faction could never win the affections of this favourite. He had at no time been a friend

friend to Charles, or to any other christian prince, or to any of their ministers, but on this occasion he served the king without intending it; he united himself with the sultaness Valide, and the great officers of the Porte, to depose Chourlouli, whom they all hated. This old minister, who had faithfully served his master for a long time, fell the victim to the caprice of a boy, and the intrigues of a foreigner. He was stripped of his dignity and riches; his wife, the daughter of the late sultan Mustapha, was also taken from him, and himself was banished to Caffa, formerly called Theodosia, in Crim Tartary. The bull, that is to say, the seal of the empire, was given to Numan Couprougli, grandson of the great Couprougli, who took Candia. This new vizier was, what ill-formed christians can hardly believe it possible for a Turk to be, a man of inflexible virtue, a scrupulous observer of the law, and one who frequently opposed justice to the will of the sultan. He could not endure to hear of a war against Muscovy, which he treated as unjust and unnecessary; but the same attachment to his law, that prevented his making war upon the czar, contrary to the faith of treaties, made him respect the duties of hospitality towards the king of Sweden. He would say to his master, "the law forbids you to attack the czar, who has not offended you, but it commands you to succour the king of Sweden, who is an unfortunate prince in your dominions." To this prince he sent eight hundred purses, (every purse containing five hundred crowns,) and advised him to return peaceably to his own dominions, either through the territories of the emperor of Germany, or in some of the French vessels, which were then in the port of Constantinople, and which Mr. de Feroil, the French ambassador at the porte, offered to Charles to conduct him to Marseilles. Count Poniatowsky negociated more than ever with this minister, and acquired such a superiority in these negotiations with an incorruptible vizier, as the gold of the Muscovites was unable to dispute. The Russian faction

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thought their best resource was to poison such a dangerous negociator. They accordingly won over one of his domestics, who was to give him the poison in a dish of coffee; but the crime was discovered before it was carried into execution; the poison was found in the hands of the domestic, contained in a small vial, which was carried to the grand seignior. The poisoner was tried in a full divan, and condemned to the gallies; for the justice of the Turks never punish with death those crimes that have not been executed.

Charles XII. who could never be persuaded but that, sooner or later, he should be able to engage the Turkish empire in a war against Muscovy, rejected every proposal that were held out for his peaceable return home; and never ceased to represent to the Turks the formidable power of that very czar, whom he had so long despised; his emissaries were perpetually insinuating that Peter Alexiowitz wanted to make himself master of the navigation of the black sea; and that after having subdued the Cossacks, he would carry his arms into Crim Tartary. Sometimes these representations animated the Porte, at others the Russian ministers rendered them of no avail.

While Charles XII. made his fate depend upon the caprice of viziers, and while he was alternately receiving favours and affronts from a foreign power, presenting petitions to the sultan, and subsisting upon his bounty in a desert, all his enemies, awakened from their former lethargy, invaded his dominions.

The battle of Pultowa was the first signal to a revolution in Poland. King Augustus returned to that country, protesting against his abdication, and the peace of Altranstad, and publicly accusing Charles, whom he no longer feared, of robbery and cruelty. He immediately imprisoned Fingsten and Imhoff, his plenipotentiaries, who had signed his abdication, as if in so doing they had exceeded their orders, and betrayed their master. His Saxon troops, which had been the pretext of his dethronement, conducted him back to Warsaw, accompanied by most of the Polish

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palatines,

palatines, who had formerly sworn fidelity to him, and had afterwards taken the same oath to Stanislaus, and were now come to do it again to Augustus. Siniawski himself rejoined his party, and having lost the idea of becoming king, was content to remain grand-general of the crown. Fleming, his first minister, who had been obliged to quit Saxony for a time, for fear of being delivered up with Patkul, now contributed by his address to bring back to his master's interest a great part of the Polish nobility.

The pope absolved the people from the oath of allegiance which they had taken to Stanislaus. This step of the holy father was exceedingly apropos, and supported by the forces of Augustus, was of considerable weight; it strengthened the credit of the court of Rome in Poland, who had no inclination at that time to contest with the sovereign pontiffs their chimerical right of interfering in the temporal concern of princes. Every one voluntarily returned to the government of Augustus, and received without repugnance a useless absolution, which the nuncio did not fail to represent as absolutely necessary.

The power of Charles, and the grandeur of Sweden, were now drawing towards their last period. More than ten crowned heads had long beheld with fear and envy the Swedish power extending itself far beyond its natural bounds, on the other side of the Baltic sea, from the Duna to the Elbe. The fall of Charles, and his absence, revived the interested views, and jealousies of all these princes, which had for a long time been laid asleep by treaties, and by their inability to break them.

The czar, more powerful than all of them put together, profited by his late victory; he took Vibourg, and all Carelia, over-run Finland with troops, laid siege to Riga, and sent a body of forces into Poland to aid Augustus in recovering his throne. This emperor was, at that time, what Charles had been formerly, the arbiter of Poland and the North; but he consulted only his interest, when, on the other hand,

hand, Charles had never given way to any thing but his idea of revenge and glory. The Swedish monarch had succoured his allies and destroyed his enemies, without reaping the least fruit from his victories; the czar conducting himself more like a prince, and less like a hero, would not assist the king of Poland, but on condition that Livonia should be ceded to him; and that that province, for which Augustus had kindled the war, should remain for ever in the possession of the Muscovites.

The king of Denmark, forgetting the treaty of Travendal, as Augustus had that of Altranstad, began from that time to think of making himself master of the dutchies of Holstein and Bremen, to which he renewed his pretensions. The king of Prussia had ancient claims upon Swedish Pomerania, which he now resolved to revive. The duke of Mecklenburgh saw with envy that the Swedes were still in possession of Wismar, the finest town in the dutchy, that prince was to marry a niece of the Russian emperor; and the czar wanted only a pretext for establishing himself in Germany, after the example of the Swedes. George, elector of Hanover, sought to enrich himself with the spoils of Charles. The bishop of Munster too would have been willing enough to avail himself of some of his claims, had he been able to support them.

Twelve or thirteen thousand Swedes defended Pomerania, and the other countries which Charles possessed in Germany; and it was there that the war was most likely to begin. This storm alarmed the emperor and his allies. It is a law of the empire, that whoever invades one of its provinces shall be reputed an enemy to the whole Germanic body.

But there was still a greater embarrassment. All these princes, except the czar, were then united against Lewis XIV. whose power, for a long time, had been as formidable to the empire, as that of Charles.

Germany, at the beginning of this century, had found itself hard pressed, from south to north, by the armies of France and Sweden. The French had passed the

Danube, and the Swedes the Oder, and had their forces, victorious as they then were, been joined together, the empire had been undone. But the same fatality that ruined Sweden, had likewise humbled France: Sweden however had still more resources left; and Lewis carried on the war with vigour, though without success. Had Pomerania and the dutchy of Bremen become the theatre of the war, it was to be feared that the empire would suffer by it; and that being weakened on that side, it would be less able to stand against Lewis XIV. To prevent this danger, the emperor, the princes of the empire, Anne, queen of England, and the states-general of the united provinces, concluded, at the end of the year 1709, one of the most singular treaties that ever was signed.

It was stipulated by these powers, that the war against the Swedes should not be made in Pomerania, nor in any other of the German provinces; but that the enemies of Charles XII. should be at liberty to attack him any where else. The czar and the king of Poland acceded to this treaty, in which they caused to be inserted an article as extraordinary as the treaty itself; this was, that the twelve thousand Swedes who were in Pomerania should not be permitted to leave it to defend their other provinces.

To secure the execution of the treaty, they proposed to raise an army to preserve this imaginary neutrality. This army was to encamp on the banks of the Oder. An unheard of novelty, surely, to raise an army to prevent a war. Even the princes who were to pay the army, were most of them interested in beginning a war, which they thus pretended to prevent; the treaty also imported, that the army should be composed of the troops of the emperor, of the king of Prussia, of the elector of Hanover, of the landgrave of Hesse, and of the bishop of Munster.

The issue of this project was such as might naturally have been expected; it was not carried into execution. The princes who were to have furnished their contingents for completing the army, contributed nothing:

nothing: there were not two regiments formed. Every body talked of a neutrality, but nobody observed it; and the princes of the north, who had any interest in quarrelling with the king of Sweden, were left at full liberty to dispute with each other the spoils of that prince.

At this juncture, the czar, after having quartered his troops in Lithuania, and had given orders for the siege of Riga, returned to Moscow, to shew his people a sight as new as any thing he had hitherto done in the kingdom: this was a triumph of nearly the same nature with that of the ancient Romans. He made his entry into Moscow on the first of January, 1710, under seven triumphal arches, erected in the streets, and adorned with every thing which the climate could furnish, or which a flourishing commerce, rendered such by his care, could produce. A regiment of guards began the procession, followed by the pieces of artillery taken from the Swedes at Lesno and Pultowa, each being drawn by eight horses, covered with scarlet housings hanging down to the ground; then came the standards, kettle-drums, and colours, won at those two battles, carried by the very officers and soldiers who had taken them: and all these spoils were followed by the choicest troops of the czar. After they had filed off, there appeared in a chariot, made on purpose*, the litter of Charles the XIIth, found on the field of battle at Pultowa, all shattered with two cannon shot: behind this litter marched all the prisoners two and two: then appeared count Piper, first minister of Sweden, the celebrated mareschal Renschild, the count de Lewenhaupt, the generals Slipenback, Stackelberg, and Hamilton, and all the officers, who were afterwards dispersed through Great Russia. Immediately after these appeared the czar himself, mounted on the same horse which he rode at the battle

* Mr. Norberg, confessor of Charles XII. here reprehends the author, and affirms, that the litter was carried by the soldiers. For the truth of these *essential* circumstances, we refer to those who saw them.

of Pultowa. A little after him came the generals who had had a share in the success of the day. Then followed another regiment of guards; and the waggons loaded with the Swedish ammunition closed the whole.

This pageantry was accompanied with the ringing of all the bells in Moscow, with the sound of drums, kettle-drums, trumpets, and an infinite number of musical instruments, which played in concert, the volleys of two hundred pieces of cannon, together with the acclamations of five hundred thousand men, who, at every step the czar made in this triumphal entry, cried out, "Long live the emperor, our father."

This dazzling exhibition augmented the people's veneration for his person; and perhaps made him appear greater in their eyes, than the real advantages they had derived from him. Mean while he continued the blockade of Riga. The generals made themselves masters of the rest of Livonia, and part of Finland. At the same time the king of Denmark came with his whole fleet to make a descent upon Sweden, where he landed seventeen thousand men, whom he left under the command of the count de Reventlau.

Sweden was at that time governed by a regency, composed of several senators, whom the king appointed when he departed from Stockholm. The body of the senate looking upon the government as their right, became jealous of the regency. The state suffered by these divisions: but, when after the battle of Pultowa, the first news they heard at Stockholm was, that the king was at Bender, at the mercy of the Turks and Tartars, and that the Danes were descended upon Schonen, and had taken the town of Helsingburgh, their jealousies then vanished, and they turned their whole attention to the preservation of Sweden. Sweden was now drained, in a great measure, of regular troops; for though Charles had always made his great expeditions at the head of small armies, yet the innumerable battles he had fought in the space of nine years, the necessity he was under of continually recruiting his forces, the maintaining his garrisons, and the

the standing army he was constantly obliged to keep in Finland, Ingria, Livonia, Pomerania, Bremen, and Verner; all these particulars had cost Sweden, during the course of the war, above two hundred and fifty thousand men; so that there did not remain eight thousand of the ancient troops, which, with the new-raised militia, was the only resources Sweden had.

The nation is naturally warlike; and the people insensibly partook of the spirit of their king. They talked of nothing, from one end of the country to the other, but the prodigious achievements of the old regiments that fought under them at Narva, Duna, Clissau, Pultusk, and Hollofin. The lowest of the Swedes possessed a spirit of emulation and glory. Their affection for their king, their pity for his misfortunes, and their implacable hatred to the Danes, contributed to encrease this ardour. In several other countries the peasants are slaves, or treated as such; but here they compose a part of the state, are considered as citizens, and, of consequence, are capable of more refined sentiments; so that these new raised militia became, in a short time, the best troops of the North.

General Steinbock put himself, by order of the regency, at the head of eight thousand of the ancient troops, and about twelve thousand of these new militia, to go in pursuit of the Danes, who ravaged all the country about Helsingburgh, and had already laid contributions on some of the more inland provinces.

There was neither time nor opportunity to give cloathing to the new militia, so that most of these boors came in their flaxen frocks, having pistols tied to their girdles with cords. Steinbock, at the head of this extraordinary army, overtook the Danes about three leagues from Helsingburgh, on the tenth of March, 1710. He wished to have given his troops a few days rest, to raise intrenchments, and to allow his new soldiers a sufficient time to habituate themselves to the face of the enemy; but all the peasants called out for battle the very day they arrived.

Several of the officers then present have since assured me that they saw every soldier foaming with rage and choler, so great is the national hatred of the Swedes to the Danes. Steinbock profited by this ardour of spirits, which, in the day of battle, is of as much consequence as military discipline, and attacked the Danes; a circumstance was now displayed, of which, perhaps, the whole history of mankind cannot furnish above two examples; the new-raised militia, in their first assault, equalled the intrepidity of veteran soldiers. Two regiments of these undisciplined peasants cut in pieces the regiment of the king of Denmark's guards, of which there remained only ten men alive.

The Danes, entirely defeated, retired under the cannon of Helsingburgh. The passage from Sweden to Zealand is so short, that the king of Denmark received the news at Copenhagen, of the defeat of his army in Sweden, the very same day on which it happened, and sent his fleet to bring off the shattered remains of his army. The Danes quitted Sweden with precipitation five days after the battle; but being unable to carry off their horses, and unwilling to leave them to the enemy, they killed them all in the environs of Helsingburgh, and set fire to their provisions, burning their corn and baggage, and leaving in Helsingburgh four thousand wounded men, of whom the greatest part died with the infection, occasioned by so many dead horses, and for want of provisions, of which even their countrymen deprived them, to prevent the Swedes from enjoying it.

Mean while the peasants of Dalecarlia, having, even in their forests, heard the report of their king's being a prisoner among the Turks, they sent a deputation to the regency of Stockholm, and offered to go at their own expence, to the number of twenty thousand, and deliver their master from the hands of his enemies. This proposal, which was better calculated to display their courage and affection to their king, than to produce any real advantage, was received with pleasure, though it was not accepted; and the senators took

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care to acquaint the king with it, at the same time that they sent him an account of the battle of Helsingburgh.

Charles received this pleasing news in his camp near Bender, in the month of July, 1710; and a little time after another event happened that contributed still more to strengthen his hopes.

The grand vizier, Couprougli, who opposed all his designs, was dismissed about two months after he had entered into his office. The little court of Charles XII. and those who still adhered to him in Poland, gave out that Charles made and unmade the viziers, and governed the Turkish empire from the instant he retreated to Bender; but he had no share in the disgrace of that favourite. The rigid probity of the vizier is said to have been the sole cause of his fall. His predecessor had not paid the janissaries out of the imperial treasury, but with the money he raised by extortion: Couprougli paid them out of the treasury. Achmet reproached him with preferring the interest of the subject to that of the emperor; "Your predecessor, Chourlouli, (said he,) knew how to find other means to pay my troops." "If (replied the grand vizier) he had the art of enriching your highness by rapine, it is an art of which I glory in being ignorant."

The profound secrecy observed in the seraglio, seldom permits such particulars to transpire to the public; but this fact was published with Couprougli's disgrace. This vizier's boldness, however, did not cost him his head, because true virtue is sometimes respected, even while it displeases. He was permitted to retire to the island of Negropont. These particulars I learned from the letters of Mr. Bru, my relation, first druggist to the Ottoman Porte, and I have re-told them in order to display the true spirit of that government.

After this the grand seignior recalled from Aleppo Baltagi Mehemet, pasha of Syria, who had been grand vizier before Chourlouli. The baltagis of the seraglio, so called from balta, which signifies an axe, are slaves employed to cut wood for the use of the princes of the Ottoman blood, and the sultanas. This vizier had
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been a baltagi in his youth, and had ever since retained the name of that office, according to the custom of the Turks, who take, without blushing, the name of their first profession, or of that of their father, or even of the place of their birth.

At the time Baltagi Mehemet was a slave in the seraglio, he was so happy as to do several little services to prince Achmet, who was then a prisoner of state in the reign of his brother Mustapha. It is permitted the princes of the Ottoman blood to keep for their pleasure a few women who are past the age of child-bearing, (and that age arrives very early in Turkey,) but still agreeable enough to please. As soon as Achmet became sultan, he gave one of these female slaves, whom he had formerly loved, in marriage to Baltagi Mehemet. This woman, by her intrigues, made her husband grand vizier; another intrigue displaced him; and a third made him grand vizier again.

When Baltagi Mehemet received the bull of the empire, he found the party of the king of Sweden prevailing in the seraglio. The sultaneſs Valide, Ali Coumourgi, the favourite of the grand ſeignior; the kiſla aga, chief of the black eunuchs; and the aga of the janiffaries, inclined to a war with the czar; the ſultan was determined in the ſame reſolution; and the firſt order he gave the grand vizier, was to go and attack the Muſcovites with two hundred thouſand men. Baltagi Mehemet had never made a campaign, yet he was not the idiot that Swediſh malcontents have repreſented him. He ſaid to the grand ſeignior, upon receiving a ſabre from him, adorned with precious ſtones, "Your highneſs knows that I was brought up to handle an axe to cleave wood, and not a ſword to command your armies: I will, notwithſtanding, do my beſt to ſerve you, though ſhould I not ſucceed, remember I have intreated you, beforehand, not to impute the blame to me." The ſultan aſſured him of his friendſhip, and the vizier prepared to carry his orders into execution.

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The first step of the Ottoman Porte was to imprison the Russian ambassador in the castle of the Seven Towers. It is the custom of the Turks to begin by arresting the ministers of those princes against whom they declare war. Strict observers of hospitality in every thing else, in this they violate the most sacred law of nations. They commit injustice, under the pretext of equity, believing, or at least desirous to have it thought, that they never undertake any but just wars; because they are consecrated by the approbation of their mufti. Upon this principle they take up arms, as they imagine, to chastise the breach of treaties, of which they themselves are in fact the first violators; and think they have a right to punish the ambassadors of those kings with whom they are at enmity, as being accomplices in the treachery of their masters.

To this manner of reasoning they join a ridiculous contempt, which they affect to entertain for Christian princes and their ambassadors, the latter of whom they consider in no other light than as the consuls of merchants.

The han of Crim Tartary, whom we call the kam, received orders to hold himself in readiness, with forty thousand Tartars. This prince governs Nagai, Budziack, part of Circassia, and all Crim Tartary, a province, known in antiquity by the name of Taurica Chersonesus, into which the Greeks carried their arms and commerce, and founded powerful cities; and into which the Genoese since penetrated, when they were masters of the trade of Europe. In this country are to be seen the ruins of some Greek cities, and some monuments of the Genoese, which still subsist in the midst of desolation and barbarity.

The kam is called emperor by his own subjects; but this grand title does not make him less a slave of the Porte. The Ottoman blood, from which the kams are sprung, and the right they pretend to have to the empire of the Turks, in case an heir should be wanting to the throne, render their family respectable, and their persons formidable, even to the sultan himself. This is the reason

son that the grand seignior dares not venture to destroy the race of the kams of Tartary, though indeed he seldom allows any of these princes to live to a great age. Their conduct is closely inspected by the neighbouring bashaws, their dominions are surrounded with janissaries, their inclinations thwarted by the grand viziers, and their designs always suspected. If the Tartars complain of the kam, the Porte deposes him under that pretext; if he is too much beloved by his people, that is still a higher crime, for which he is more severely punished. Thus almost all of them are driven from sovereign powers into exile, and end their days at Rhodes, which is generally their prison and their grave.

The Tartars, their subjects, are the greatest thieves on earth, and, what appears impossible, are at the same time the most hospitable people. They will go fifty miles to attack a caravan, or pillage a town; and yet when any stranger, of any rank whatever, happens to travel through their country, he is not only received, lodged, and maintained every where, but through whatever places he passes, the inhabitants dispute with each other the honour of having him for their guest; and the master of the house, his wife and daughters, are ambitious to serve him. This inviolable regard to hospitality they have inherited from their ancestors the Scythians, and they still preserve it, on account of the small number of strangers that travel among them, and the low prices of all sorts of provisions, which render the practice of such a virtue no ways burthensome.

When the Tartars go to war in conjunction with the Ottoman army, they are maintained by the grand seignior: but the booty they get is their only pay; and hence it is that they are much fitter for plundering than fighting.

The kam, won over by the presents and intrigues of the king of Sweden, at first had obtained leave to appoint the general rendezvous of the troops at Bender, and even under the eye of Charles, in order to convince

convince that monarch, that the war was undertaken solely for his sake.

The new vizier, Baltagi Mehemet, not lying under the same engagements, would not flatter a foreign prince so highly. He got the order changed, and assembled this great army at Adrianople, on whose vast and fertile plains the Turks drew up their armies, when going to make war upon the Christians: there the troops that arrive from Asia and Africa repose and refresh themselves for a few weeks; but the grand vizier, in order to be beforehand with the czar, allowed the army but three days rest, and then marched to the Danube, and from thence to Bessarabia.

The Turkish troops at this day are not so formidable as they were in ancient times, when they conquered so many kingdoms in Asia, Africa, and Europe; when, by the strength of their body, their valour, and numbers, they triumphed over enemies less robust, and worse disciplined than themselves. But now that the Christians are more expert in the art of war, in a pitched battle, they almost always beat the Turks, and even that with unequal numbers. If the Ottoman empire hath made some conquests lately, it hath been only over the republic of Venice, who are more esteemed for wisdom than for war, defended by strangers, and little succoured by the Christian princes, who are always divided among themselves.

The janissaries and spahis make their attack in a disorderly manner; incapable of attending to the commands of their general, or rallying themselves. Their cavalry, which ought to be excellent, considering the goodness and swiftness of their horses, is not able to withstand the shock of the German horse; and their infantry cannot, even now, make good use of fixed bayonets. Besides all this, the Turks have not had an able general since the time of Couprougli, who conquered the isle of Candia. A slave brought up in the idleness and solitude of a seraglio, made a vizier through favour, and a general against his will, conducting an army raised in a hurry, without discipline or experience, against

against Russian troops, hardened by twelve years war, and proud of having conquered the Swedes.

The czar, to all appearance, must have vanquished Baltagi Mehemet; but was guilty of the same fault with regard to the Turks, which the king of Sweden had committed to him; he despised his enemy too much. On the first news of the Turkish preparations, he left Moscow, and, having given orders for turning the siege of Riga into a blockade, assembled a body of men on the frontiers of Poland *. With this army he took the road through Moldavia and Walachia, formerly the country of the Dacee, but now inhabited by Greek christians, tributaries to the grand seignior.

Moldavia was, at that time, governed by prince Cantemir, of Greek extraction, and who united in his person the talents of the ancient Greeks, the knowledge of letters, and of arms. He was supposed to have descended from the famous Timur, known by the name of Tamerlane. This origin appearing more honourable than a Greek one, they attempt to prove the reality of the descent by the name of this conqueror. Timur, say they, resembles Temir, the title of Can, which Timur possessed before he conquered Asia, is included in the word Cantemir; therefore prince Cantemir is descended from Tamerlane. Such are the foundations of most genealogies !

But from whatever family Cantemir descended, he owed all his fortune to the Ottoman Porte. Yet scarcely had he received the investiture of his principality, when he betrayed the Turkish emperor, his benefactor, to the czar, from whom he expected greater advantages. He flattered himself, that the conqueror of Charles XII. would easily triumph over a vizier of so little reputation, who had never made a campaign, and who had chosen for his kiaia, that is to say, his lieutenant, the intendant of the customs in Turkey.

* The chaplain Norberg asserts, that the czar compelled every fourth man in his dominions, able to bear arms, to follow him to the field. Had this been true, his army would have amounted, at least, to two millions of men.

He made no doubt but all his subjects would readily follow his standard, as the Greek patriarchs had encouraged him in this revolt. The czar, therefore, having made a secret treaty with this prince, and received him into his army, advanced into the country; and in the month of June 1711, arrived on the northern banks of the river Hierafus, now Pruth, near Jazy, the capital of Moldavia.

As soon as the grand vizier heard that Peter Alexiowitz was advancing on that side, he immediately quitted his camp, and following the course of the Danube, resolved to cross the river on a bridge of boats, near to a town called Saccia, at the same place where Darius formerly built the bridge, that went by his name. The Turkish army used such diligence, that they soon came in sight of the Muscovites, the river Pruth lying between them.

The czar, sure of the prince of Moldavia, never thought that the Moldavians themselves would fail him. But the prince and the subject have very often different interests. The Moldavians preferred the Turkish government, which is never fatal to any one but the grandees, and affects a great lenity and mildness to its tributary states: they dreaded the christians, and especially the Muscovites, who had always treated them with inhumanity; they therefore carried all their provisions to the Ottoman army: the undertakers also, who had engaged to furnish the Russians with provisions, performed that contract with the grand vizier which they had made to the czar. The Walachians, neighbours to the Moldavians, discovered the same attachment to the Turks; so much had the remembrance of the Russian cruelty alienated all their minds.

The czar, thus deprived of his hopes, which perhaps he had too eagerly entertained, saw his army on a sudden destitute of forage and provisions. The soldiers deserted in troops, and his army was soon reduced to less than thirty thousand men, ready to perish with hunger. The czar experienced the same misfortunes upon the banks of the Pruth, in having delivered himself up

to

to Cantemir, as Charles XII. had done at Pultowa, in relying upon Mazeppa. Mean while the Turks passed the river, hemmed in the Russians, and formed an entrenched camp before them. It is surprizing that the czar did not dispute their passage, or, at least, repair this error by attacking the Turks immediately after their landing, instead of giving them time to destroy his army with hunger and fatigue. It would seem, indeed, that Peter did every thing in this campaign to hasten his own ruin. He found himself without provision, having the river Pruth behind him, an hundred and forty thousand Turks before him, and forty thousand Tartars continually harrassing his army on the right and left. In this extremity he openly said, "Here am I, at least in as bad a situation as my brother Charles was at Pultowa."

Count Poniatowsky, an indefatigable agent of the king of Sweden, was in the grand vizier's army, together with some Poles and Swedes, who all imagined the ruin of the czar inevitable.

As soon as Poniatowsky saw that the armies must infallibly come to an engagement, he sent to the king of Sweden, who immediately set out from Bender, accompanied by forty officers, enjoying in idea the pleasure he should have in fighting the emperor of Muscovy. After many losses, and several destructive marches, the czar was driven back to the Pruth, having no other defence than a chevaux de frize, and a few waggons. A few troops of the janissaries and spahis attacked his army so disadvantageously situated; but their attack was disorderly, and the Russians defended themselves with a firmness, which the presence of their prince, added to their despair, gave them.

The Turks were twice repulsed. Next day Mr. Poniatowsky advised the grand vizier to starve the Russian army, which, being in want of every thing, would, together with their emperor, be obliged in a day's time to surrender at discretion.

The czar hath since that time more than once declared, that in his whole life he never felt any thing

so tormenting as the agitation in which he passed that night: he revolved in his thoughts, that all he had been doing for so many years, to promote the glory and happiness of his country; that so many grand undertakings, which had always been interrupted by wars, were now, perhaps, going to perish with him, before they were fully accomplished; and that he must either be destroyed by famine, or attack about an hundred and eighty thousand men with feeble and dispirited troops, diminished one half in their number, the cavalry almost entirely dismounted, and the infantry exhausted with hunger and fatigue.

In the beginning of the night he had sent for general Czeremet, and without balancing it in his mind, or taking any counsel, ordered him to have every thing in readiness next morning for attacking the Turks with fixed bayonets.

He likewise gave the most positive orders that all the baggage should be burnt, and that every officer should keep but one waggon; to the end, that if they were conquered, the enemy might not obtain the booty they expected.

Having regulated every thing with the general for the battle, he retired to his tent, oppressed with grief, and agitated with convulsions, a disease with which he was often attacked, and which always recurred with redoubled violence, when he was under any perturbations of mind. He gave orders that no one should dare to enter his tent in the night, on any pretext whatever; not chusing to receive any remonstrance against a resolution, which, though desperate, was necessary; and still less that any one should be a witness of the distressed situation in which he found himself.

In the mean time the greatest part of the baggage was burnt, as he had ordered. The whole army followed the example, though with much reluctance; and several buried their most valuable effects in the earth. The general officers had already given orders for the march, and were endeavouring to inspire the army

with that confidence which they themselves wanted: but the whole soldiery, exhausted with hunger and fatigue, marched without spirit or hope. The women, with which the army was crowded, set up the most lamentable cries, which contributed still more to enervate the men; and next morning every one expected death or slavery, as the only alternative. This description is by no means exaggerated, it is exactly conformable to the accounts that were given by letters from some officers who served in the army.

There was at that time, in the Russian camp, a woman as extraordinary, perhaps, as the czar himself. She was then only known by the name of Catharine. Her mother was a poor country woman, called Erb-Magden, of the village of Ringen, in Estonia, a province where the people held by villenage, and which was then under the government of the Swedes. She had never known her father, and had been baptized by the name of Martha. The vicar of the parish, out of charity, brought her up to the age of fourteen; at which age she went to service at Marienburg, at the house of a Lutheran minister of that country called Gluk.

In 1702, being then eighteen years of age, she married a Swedish dragoon. The day after her marriage, a party of the Swedish troops having been beat by the Muscovites, the dragoon, who was in the action, disappeared, nor could his wife learn whether he was taken prisoner, or from that time had ever heard of him.

A few days after she was made a prisoner herself by general Baur, she entered into his service, and afterwards into that of mareschal Czeremetoff, by whom she was given to Menzikoff, a man who experienced the greatest vicissitudes of fortune, having been raised from a pastry-cook's boy, to the rank of a general and a prince, but was at last stripped of every honour, and banished into Siberia, where he lived in misery and despair.

It was at a supper given by prince Menzikoff that the emperor first saw her, and instantly became enamoured

moured of her. He privately married her in the year 1707; not seduced to it by any artifices, but because he thought he had met with a woman capable of seconding his schemes, and even of maintaining them after his death. He had long before divorced his first wife Ottokefa, the daughter of a boyard, who was accused of opposing the alterations which he made in his dominions. A crime, in the eyes of the czar, the most unpardonable, as he would permit nobody in his family whose thoughts did agree with his own. He thought he had now found in this foreign slave the qualities of a sovereign, though she had none of the virtues of her own sex: he however, for her sake, disdained the prejudices that would have governed a man of common ideas, he therefore had her crowned empress. The same talents which made her the wife of Peter Alexio-witz, procured her the empire after the death of her husband. Europe hath beheld with surprize this woman, who was not able to read * or write, compensating for her want of education, and the weakness of her sex, by her fortitude, and filling with glory the throne of a legislator.

At the time she married the czar she renounced the Lutheran religion, in which she had been born, for that of Muscovy; in which religion she was rebaptized, according to the custom of the Russian church, and instead of the name of Martha, she took that of Catharine, by which she was ever after known. This woman happened to be in the camp at Pruth, she therefore held a council with the general officers, and the vice chancellor Schaffirof, while the czar was in his tent.

* The Sieur de la Motraye pretends that she had a good education, and could both read and write very well. The contrary of this, however, is known to all the world. The peasants of Livonia are never permitted to learn either to read or write, owing to an ancient privilege, which is termed the benefit of clergy, formerly established among the barbarians who were converted to christianity, and still subsisting in this country. The memoirs from which this anecdote is taken, farther add, that the princess Elizabeth, afterwards empress, always signed for her mother, from the time she could write.

In this conference it was resolved to ask a peace of the Turks, and endeavour to persuade the czar to agree to it. The vice chancellor wrote a letter to the grand vizier, in his master's name, which letter the czarina carried into the emperor's tent, notwithstanding his prohibition; and having by tears and entreaties prevailed upon him to sign it, she immediately collected all her jewels, money, and most valuable effects, and even borrowed of the general officers; which sum being amassed, formed a considerable present; she then sent it, with the czar's letter, to Osman Aga, lieutenant to the grand vizier. Mehemet Baltagi at first answered with the lofty air of a vizier and a conqueror. "Let the czar send me his prime minister, and I shall then consider what is to be done." The vice chancellor Schaffirof upon this immediately set off to the Turkish camp, provided with some presents, which he publicly offered to the grand vizier, sufficient to shew him they stood in need of his clemency, but too inconsiderable to corrupt his integrity.

The first demand the vizier made was, that the whole army should surrender at discretion. The vice chancellor replied, that his master was going to attack him in a quarter of an hour, and that the Russians would perish to a man, rather than submit to such infamous conditions. Osman joined his remonstrances to the demand of Schaffirof.

Mehemet Baltagi was no warrior; he saw that the janissaries had been repulsed the evening before, so that Osman easily prevailed on him not to hazard a battle against such certain advantages. He accordingly granted a suspension of arms for six hours, in which time the treaty might be settled.

During the parley there happened a little incident, which served to shew, that the Turks often pay more regard to their word than is in general imagined. Two Italian gentlemen, relations of M. Brillo, a lieutenant-colonel of a regiment of grenadiers in the czar's service, having gone in quest of forage, were taken prisoners by some Tartars, who brought them to the camp.

camp, and offered to sell them to an officer of the janissaries. The Turk, enraged at their daring to violate the truce, arrested the Tartars, and carried them himself before the grand vizier, together with the two prisoners.

The vizier sent back the two gentlemen to the czar's camp, and ordered the Tartars, who had been chiefly concerned in the transaction, to be beheaded.

In the mean time the kam of Tartary opposed the conclusion of the treaty, which would deprive him of all hopes of plunder; Poniatowsky also seconded the kam with the most persuasive arguments: but Osman carried his point against the importunity of the Tartar, and the insinuations of Poniatowsky.

The vizier thought, that by concluding an advantageous peace, he should serve his master. He insisted that the Muscovites should deliver up Azoph, burn the galleys that lay in that harbour, demolish the important citadels built upon the Palus Mæotis, and give the cannon and ammunition into the hands of the grand seignior; that the czar should withdraw his troops from Poland; that he should not incommode the little number of Cossacks, that were under the protection of the Poles, nor those who depended on the Turks; and that for the future he should pay the Tartars a subsidy of forty thousand sequins a year; a disagreeable tribute before imposed, but from which the czar had delivered his country.

At last the treaty was going to be signed, without so much as making mention of the king of Sweden. All that Poniatowsky could obtain of the vizier was to insert an article, by which the czar engaged not to incommode Charles in his return. And what is very remarkable, it was stipulated in this article, that the czar and the king of Sweden should be at liberty to make peace, if they could agree upon the terms.

On these conditions the czar was permitted to retire with his army, cannon, artillery, colours and baggage. The Turks furnished him with provisions, so that he had plenty of every thing in his camp, two

hours after the signing of the treaty, which was begun the twenty first of July, and signed the first of August, 1711.

Just as the czar, now extricated from this terrible dilemma, was marching off with drums beating, and colours flying, the king of Sweden arrived, impatient for the fight, and to behold his enemy in his power. He had rode post above fifty leagues from Bender to Jaza. He arrived the very moment the Russians were beginning to retire in peace; but he could not penetrate to the Turkish camp, without passing the Pruth by a bridge, three leagues distant. Charles, who never did any thing like other men, swam across the river, at the hazard of being drowned, and traversed the Russian camp at the risk of being taken; he, however, reached the Turkish army, and alighted at the tent of Poniatowsky, who informed him of all these particulars, both by letter and word of mouth. The count came to him with a melancholy air, and told him that he had lost an opportunity which perhaps he would never be able to recover.

The king, enflamed with resentment, ran immediately to the tent of the grand vizier, and with a stern air reproached him with the treaty he had concluded. "I have a right," says the grand vizier, with a calm air, "to make peace or war." "But," adds the king, "have you not the whole Russian army in your power?" "Our law orders," answers the vizier, gravely, "to give peace to our enemies, when they implore our mercy." "And does it command you," resumes the king in a passion, "to make a bad treaty, when you may impose what laws you please? Does it not depend on you whether the czar is led a prisoner to Constantinople?"

The Turk, driven to this extremity, replied very coldly, "and who would have governed his empire in his absence? It is not proper that all kings should leave their dominions." Charles made no other answer, than by a smile of indignation. He then threw himself down upon a sofa, and eyeing the vizier, with

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an air of contempt and resentment, stretched out his leg, and entangling his spur in the Turk's robe, purposely tore it; after which, he rose up, remounted his horse, and with a heavy heart returned to Bender.

Poniatowsky continued some time longer with the grand vizier, to try if he could prevail upon him by more gentle means, to extort greater concessions from the czar; but the hour of prayer being come, the Turk, without answering a single word, went to wash, and to attend divine service.

BOOK VI.

ARGUMENT.

Intrigues at the Ottoman Porte:—The Kam of Tartary and the Bascha of Bender endeavour to force Charles to depart:—He defends himself with forty Domestics against a whole Army:—Is taken, and treated as a Prisoner.

THE fortune of the king of Sweden, so altered from what it had been, persecuted him even in the most trivial circumstances: he found on his return his little camp at Bender, and all his apartments, overflowed by the waters of the Neister: he, therefore, retired to the distance of a few miles, near to the village called Varnitza; and, as if he had had a secret foreboding of what was to befall him, he there built a large house of stone, capable, on occasion, to sustain an assault for some hours. He even furnished it magnificently, contrary to his usual custom, in order to command respect from the Turks.

He likewise built two other houses, one for his chancery, and the other for his favorite Grothusen, who kept a table at the king's expence. While the king was thus employed in building near Bender, as if he had been always to remain in Turkey, Baltagi Mehemet, dreading more than ever the intrigues and complaints

of this prince at the porte, had sent the resident of the emperor of Germany into Vienna, to demand a free passage for the king of Sweden, through the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria. This envoy in three weeks returned with a promise from the imperial regency, that every proper honour should be paid to Charles XII. and that he should be safely conducted to Pomerania.

Application was made to the regency of Vienna, because Charles, the emperor of Germany, who had succeeded Joseph, was then in Spain disputing the crown of that kingdom with Philip V. While the German envoy was executing this commission at Vienna, the grand vizier sent three bashas to the king of Sweden, to signify to him that he must quit the Turkish dominions.

The king, who had been informed of the orders with which they were charged, caused immediate notice to be given them, that if they presumed to make him any proposals contrary to his honour, or to the respect that was due to him, he would have them all three hanged within the hour. The Basha of Thessalonica, who delivered the message, smothered the harshness of the commission under the most respectful terms. Charles finished the audience, without deigning ever to return an answer. His chancellor, Mullern, who remained with the three Bashas, briefly explained to them his master's refusal, which indeed they sufficiently comprehended by his silence.

The grand vizier, however, was not to be diverted; he ordered Ismael basha, the new serasquier of Bender, to threaten the king with the sultan's indignation, if he did not make his determination without delay. This serasquier was a man of a mild temper, and engaging address, which had gained him the good will of Charles, and the friendship of all the Swedes. The king entered into a conference with him; but it was only to tell him, that he would not depart till Achmet had granted him two demands; the punishment of his grand

grand vizier, and an hundred thousand men to return with him into Poland.

Baltagi Mehemet knew very well that Charles remained in Turkey only to ruin him; he accordingly planted guards in all the roads from Bender to Constantinople, to intercept the king's letters. He did more, he retrenched his "Thaim," that is to say, the provision with which the Porte furnishes those princes to whom she furnishes an asylum. That of the king of Sweden was immense, consisting of five hundred crowns a day in money, and a profusion of every thing that could contribute to maintain a court in splendor and affluence.

As soon as the king understood that the vizier had presumed to retrench his allowance, he turned to the steward of his household, and said, "Hitherto you have only had two tables, but I command you for the future to have four."

The officers of Charles XII. were accustomed to esteem nothing impossible which their master ordered; at present, however, they had neither money nor provisions, and were obliged to borrow at twenty, thirty, and forty per cent. of the officers, domesticks, and janissaries, who were grown rich by the profusion of the king. Mr. Fabricius, the envoy of Holstein; Jeffreys, the minister of England; and their secretaries and friends, gave all that they had. The king, with his usual stateliness, and without any concern about the morrow, subsisted on these presents, which could not have sufficed him long. It was therefore necessary to elude the vigilance of the guards, and to send secretly to Constantinople to borrow money of the European merchants. But they all refused to lend money to a king, who seemed to have put himself out of a condition ever to repay them. One English merchant alone, named Cook, ventured to lend him about forty thousand crowns, though had the king of Sweden died, he would have lost the whole. This money was brought to the king's little camp, just as they began to be in want of every thing, and without hopes of any relief.

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In this interval, M. Poniatowsky wrote, even from the camp of the grand vizier, a relation of the campaign at Pruth, in which he accused Baltagi Mehemet of cowardice and treachery. An old janissary, provoked at the weakness of the vizier, and gained moreover by the presents of Poniatowsky, undertook to deliver this account, and having obtained leave, presented the letter with his own hand to the Sultan.

Poniatowsky, a few days after, left the camp, and repaired to the Ottoman Porte, to form intrigues against the grand vizier, according to his usual custom.

Circumstances were favourable. The czar, at liberty, did not hurry himself to perform his engagements: the keys of Azoph were not yet come: the grand vizier, who was answerable for them, and who, with reason, dreaded the indignation of his master, did not dare to appear in his presence.

The seraglio, at that time, was filled more than ever, with intrigues and factions. These cabals, which exist in all courts, and which in our court * commonly end in the dismissal of the minister, or, at most, in his banishment, never fail at Constantinople to occasion the loss of more than one head: the present plot proved fatal to the old vizier Chourlouli, and to Osman, the lieutenant of Baltagi Mehemet, who was the principal author of the peace of Pruth, and had afterwards obtained a considerable post at the Porte. Among Osman's treasures was found the Czarina's ring, and twenty thousand pieces of gold, of the Saxon and Russian coin, which was a proof that money alone had extricated the czar of Muscovy from the precipice of ruin; and at the same time had destroyed the fortunes of Charles XII. The vizier, Baltagi Mehemet, was banished to the isle of Lemnos, where he died three years after. The sultan did not seize his effects, either at his banishment, or at his death. He was however far from being rich; his poverty therefore is an excuse for the remembrance of him.

* The Court of France.

To this grand vizier succeeded Jussuf, that is to say Joseph, whose incidents of life was as singular as that of his predecessors. He was born on the frontiers of Muscovy, and was taken prisoner at six years of age, together with his family, and had been sold to a janissary. He had been for some time a servant in the Seraglio, and at last became the second person in that very empire, wherein he had been a slave; but then he was only the shadow of a minister. The young felictor, Ali Coumourgi, raised him to that uncertain post, in hopes of one day filling it himself; and Jussuf, his creature, had nothing to do but to sacrifice the seals of the empire to the will of this favourite. The politicks of the Ottoman court seemed to undergo a total alteration, from the very beginning of this vizier's administration: The czar's plenipotentiaries, who resided at Constantinople, either as ministers or as hostages, were treated better than ever; the grand vizier confirmed with them the peace of Pruth; but that which mortified the king of Sweden above all was, to hear that the secret alliance made with the czar at Constantinople, was brought about by the mediation of the Ambassadors of England and Holland.

Constantinople, since the time of Charles's retreat to Bender, was become what Rome hath so often been, the centre of the negociations of Christendom. Count Desaleurs, the ambassador from France, supported the interests of Charles and Stanislaus: the minister of the emperor of Germany opposed them; therefore the factions of Sweden and Muscovy clashed, as those of France and Spain have long done at the court of Rome.

England and Holland, who seemed to be neuter, were not so in reality, the new commerce which the czar had opened at Petersburgh attracted the attention of these two commercial nations.

The English and Dutch are always for that prince who favoured their trade the most. There was much to be obtained by the czar, and therefore it is not surprizing that the Ministers of England and Holland should

should serve him privately at the Ottoman Porte. One of the conditions of this new alliance was, that Charles should be immediately obliged to quit the Turkish empire; whether it was that the czar hoped to seize his person on the road, or that he thought Charles less formidable in his own kingdom than in Turkey, where he was always on the point of arming the Ottoman troops against the Russian empire.

The king of Sweden was continually soliciting the Porte to send him back through Poland with a numerous army. The divan, in fact, resolved to send him back with a simple guard of seven or eight thousand men, not as a king whom they wish to assist, but as a guest, whom they wanted to get rid of. For this purpose the sultan Achmet wrote to him in these terms:

“ Most powerful among the kings, adorers of Jesus
 “ — Redresser of wrongs and injuries, and protector
 “ of justice in the portes and republicks of the South
 “ and North; shining in majesty, friend of honour and
 “ glory, and of our sublime Porte, Charles, king of
 “ Sweden, whose enterprises God crown with success.

“ As soon as the most illustrious Achmet, formerly Chiaoux Pachi, shall have the honour to present you with this letter, adorned with our Imperial seal, be persuaded and convinced of the truth of our intentions therein contained, viz. that though we did propose ~~once~~ more to march our ever victorious army against the czar, yet that prince, to avoid the just resentment which we had conceived at his delaying to execute the treaty concluded on the banks of the Pruth, and afterwards renewed at our sublime porte, having surrendered into our hands the castle and city of Azoph, and endeavoured through the mediation of the ambassadors of England and Holland, our ancient allies, to cultivate a lasting peace with us, we have granted his request, and given to his plenipotentiaries, who remain with us as hostages, our Imperial ratification, after having received his from their hands.

“ We

"We have given to the most honourable and valiant Delvit Gherai, kam of Budziach, Crim Tartary, Nagay, and Circassia, and to our most sage counsellor and noble serasquier of Bender, Ismael, (whom God preserve, and encrease their magnificence and wisdom,) our inviolable and salutary orders for your return through Poland, according to your first intention, which hath been again presented to us in your name. You must, therefore, prepare to depart under the auspices of providence, and with an honourable guard, the approaching winter, in order to return to your own territories, taking care to pass in friendship through those of Poland.

"Whatever is necessary for your journey shall be furnished you by my sublime porte, as well in money as in men, horses, and waggons. We, above all things, exhort and recommend to you, to give the most positive and intelligible orders to all the Swedes, and other persons in your retinue, to commit no outrage, nor be guilty of any action that may tend either directly or indirectly to violate this peace and alliance.

"You will, by these means, preserve our good-will, of which we shall endeavour to give you as great and as frequent marks as occasion shall offer. Our troops destined to accompany you shall receive orders conformable to our Imperial intentions.

"Given at our sublime porte of Constantinople, the fourteenth of the moon Rebyal Eurech, 1214, which answers to the nineteenth of April, 1712."

This letter did not yet deprive the king of Sweden of his hopes: he wrote to the sultan, that he should ever retain a grateful remembrance of the favours his highness had bestowed on him, but that he believed the sultan was too just to send him back with the simple guard of a flying camp into a country still overwhelmed with the czar's troops. And indeed the emperor of Russia, notwithstanding the first article of the peace of Pruth, by which he engaged himself to withdraw all his troops from Poland, had sent fresh ones into that kingdom;

kingdom; and what appears surprizing, the grand seignior knew nothing of the matter.

The bad policy of the porte, in being so much guided by vanity as to allow christian princes to have ambassadors at Constantinople, without ever sending a single agent to any christian court, often gives the latter an opportunity of discovering, and sometimes of directing the most secret resolutions of the sultan, at a time when the divan is in a profound ignorance of what passes in the christian world.

The sultan, shut up in his seraglio among his women and eunuchs, can see but with the eyes of the grand vizier: that minister is also as inaccessible as his master, his whole time being wholly engrossed with the intrigues of his seraglio; and having no foreign correspondence, is commonly deceived himself, or else deceives the sultan, who deposes, or has him strangled the very first offence, in order to chuse another minister as ignorant or as perfidious, who behaves like his predecessors, and soon shares the same fate.

Such for the most part is the inactivity and the indolent security of this court, that were the christian princes to league themselves against it, their fleets might be at Dardanelles, and their land forces at the gates of Adrianople, before the Turks would dream of defending themselves; but the different interests, which always divide the christian world, preserve the Turks from a fate, to which, by their want of policy, and by their ignorance of the art of war, both by sea and land, they seem at present exposed.

Achmet was so little informed of what passed in Poland, that he sent an aga to enquire whether it was true that the czar's troops were still in that country: the king of Sweden's two secretaries, who understood the Turkish language, accompanied the aga, and were to serve as witnesses against him, in case he should make a false report.

This aga saw the truth of the king's assertion with his own eyes, and informed the Sultan of every particular. Achmet, fired with indignation, was going

to strangle the grand vizier; but the favourite, who protected him, and who thought he should have occasion for him, obtained his pardon, and supported him some time longer in the ministry.

The Russians were now openly espoused by the vizier, and secretly by Ali Coumourgi, who had changed sides; but the sultan was so provoked, the infraction of the treaty was so manifest, and the janissaries, who often make the ministers the favourites, and even the sultans tremble, demanded war with such clamour, that no one in the seraglio durst offer a more moderate proposal.

The grand seignior immediately committed to the Seven Towers the Russian ambassadors, who were now as much accustomed to go to prison as to an audience. War was declared afresh against the czar, the horses tails were displayed, and orders were given to all the bashas to assemble an army of two hundred thousand men. The sultan himself quitted Constantinople, and went to fix his court at Adrianople, where he might be nearer to the seat of war.

In the mean time a solemn embassy, sent to the grand seignior by Augustus and the republic of Poland, was advancing on the road to Adrianople, at the head of which embassy was the Palatine of Muscovia, with a retinue of above three hundred persons.

Every one that composed the embassy were seized and imprisoned in one of the suburbs of the city: Never was the King of Sweden's party more highly flattered than on this occasion, and yet this great preparation was rendered useless, and all their hopes were again disappointed.

If we may believe a public minister, a man of sagacity and penetration, who resided at that time at Constantinople, young Coumourgi had already other designs in his head, than that of disputing a desert country with the czar by a doubtful war. He had proposed to strip the Venetians of Pelopponnesus, now called the Morea, and to make himself master of Hungary.

He

He waited for the execution of his great designs till he should have attained the post of grand vizier, from which he was still excluded on account of his youth. In this view it was more for his advantage to be the ally than the enemy of the czar; it was neither his interest nor his inclination to keep the king of Sweden any longer, and still less to arm the Turkish empire in his favour. He not only resolved to dismiss that prince, but he openly declared that for the future, he would permit no christian minister to reside at Constantinople; that all the common ambassadors were but so many honourable spies, who corrupted or betrayed the viziers, and had too long influenced the intrigues of the seraglio; and that the Franks settled at Pesa, and in the sea-ports of the Levant, were merchants, who needed a consul only, and not an ambassador. The grand vizier, who owed his post and his life to the favourite, and who stood in fear of him, complied with his intentions with the more alacrity, as he had sold himself to the Russians, and hoped by this means to be revenged on the king of Sweden, who had endeavoured to ruin him. The musti, a creature of Ali Coumourgi, was also the slave to his will; he had advised a war with Russia, when the favourite wished it; but the moment Coumourgi changed his opinion, he likewise pronounced it to be unjust: thus was the army hardly assembled before they began to listen to proposals of accommodation. The vice chancellor Schafirof, and young Czeremetof, the hostages and plenipotentiaries of the czar at the porte, promised, after several negotiations, that the czar should withdraw his troops from Poland. The grand vizier, who well knew that the czar would never execute this treaty, made no scruple to sign it; and the sultan satisfied with having, in appearance, imposed laws on the Russians, remained still at Adrianople. Thus, in less than six months, was peace ratified with the czar, war declared, and peace renewed again.

The principal article of all these treaties was to oblige the king of Sweden to depart. The sultan, however,

was

was not willing to endanger his own honour, and that of the Ottoman empire, by exposing the king to the risk of his being taken by his enemies on the road. It was stipulated that he should depart; but then on condition that the ambassadors of Poland and Muscovy should be responsible for the safety of his person; these ambassadors accordingly swore, in the name of their masters, that neither the czar nor the king of Poland should molest him on his journey; and Charles was to engage, on his side, that he would not attempt to excite any commotions in Poland. The divan having thus settled the fate of Charles; Ismael, serasquier of Bender, repaired to Varnitza, where the king was encamped, to acquaint him with the resolutions of the Porte, insinuating to him with great politeness, that there was no time for delay, and that he must necessarily depart.

Charles made no other answer, than that the grand seignior had promised him an army, and not a guard; and that kings ought to keep their word.

In the mean time, general Fleming, the minister and favourite of Augustus, maintained a secret correspondence with the kam of Tartary, and the serasquier of Bender. La Mare, a French gentleman, a colonel in the service of Saxony, had made several journies from Bender to Dresden; and all these journies were strongly suspected.

At this very time, the king of Sweden caused a courier, whom Fleming had sent to the Tartarian prince, to be arrested on the frontiers of Walachia. The letters were brought to him, and decyphered; from whence it clearly appeared that a correspondence was carried on between the Tartars and the court of Dresden; but the letters were conceived in such ambiguous and general terms, that it was difficult to discover, whether Augustus only intended to detach the Turks from the interest of Sweden, or whether he meant that the kam should deliver Charles to the Saxons as he conducted him back to Poland.

It would appear hard of belief, that a prince so generous as Augustus, would, by seizing the person of the king of Sweden, endanger the lives of his ambassadors, and of three hundred Polish gentlemen, who were detained at Adrianople as pledges for Charles's safety.

But on the other hand it is well known, that Fleming, the absolute minister of Augustus, was a subtle man, and not very scrupulous. The outrages committed on the elector by the king of Sweden might seem to render any revenge excuseable; and it might be thought, that, if the court of Dresden could buy Charles from the kam of Tartary, they would easily purchase the liberty of the Polish hostages at the Ottoman Porte.

All these reasons were carefully agitated by the king, Mullern, his privy chancellor, and Grothusen his favourite. They read the letters again and again; and their unhappy situation making them more suspicious, they resolved to believe the worst.

A few days after, the king was confirmed in his suspicions, by the precipitate departure of count Sapieha, who had taken refuge with him, and now quitted him abruptly, to go to Poland to throw himself into the arms of Augustus. In any other situation he would have regarded Sapieha only as a malcontent; but in his present delicate condition, he did not hesitate to pronounce him a traitor. The repeated importunities with which they now pressed him to depart converted his suspicions into certainty. The obstinacy of his character, joined with these circumstances, confirmed him in the opinion that they intended to betray him and deliver him up to his enemies, though this plot hath never been fully proved.

He might deceive himself in supposing that Augustus had made a bargain with the Tartars for his person; but he was much more deceived in relying on the succours of the Ottoman court. Be that as it will, he resolved to gain time.

He told the basha of Bender, that he could not depart, without having money to pay his debts; for though his "Thaim" had for a long time been duly paid,

paid, his liberality had always obliged him to borrow. The basha asked him how much he wanted? The king replied, at a hazard, a thousand purses, amounting to fifteen hundred thousand livres, full weight. The basha wrote to the Porte; and the sultan, in the room of a thousand purses which Charles had asked, sent twelve hundred, and wrote the basha the following letter:

Letter from the GRAND SEIGNIOR, to the Basha of BENDER.

" The purport of this imperial letter is to acquaint
 " you, that upon your representation and request,
 " and upon that of the most noble Delvet Gherai, kam
 " to our sublime Porte, our imperial munificence
 " hath granted a thousand purses to the king of Swe-
 " den, which shall be sent to Bender, under the care
 " and conduct of the most illustrious Mehemet basha,
 " formerly Chioux Pachi, to remain in your custody,
 " till the time of the departure of the king of Swe-
 " den, whose steps God direct, and then to be given
 " to him, together with two hundred purses more, as
 " an overplus of our imperial liberality, which ex-
 " ceeds his demands.

" With regard to the route of Poland, which he
 " is at liberty to chuse, you and the kam, who are
 " to accompany him, shall take such wise and pru-
 " dent measures, as may, during the whole journey,
 " prevent, as well the troops under your command
 " as those of the king of Sweden, from committing
 " any outrage, or being guilty of any action that may
 " be esteemed contrary to the peace which still subsists
 " between our sublime Porte and the kingdom and re-
 " public of Poland; to the end, the king may pass
 " as a friend under our protection.

" By doing this, (which you must expressly require
 " him to do) he will receive on the part of the Poles
 " every honour and respect due to his majesty; of
 " which we have been assured by the ambassadors of Au-
 " gustus and the republic, who, on this condition, have

“ even offered themselves, together with several other
 “ Polish nobles, if we required it, as hostages for the
 “ security of his passage.

“ When the time which you, together with the most
 “ noble Delvet Gherai, shall fix for the march, is
 “ come, you shall put yourself at the head of your
 “ brave soldiers, among whom shall be the Tartars,
 “ having the kam at their head; and you shall then
 “ conduct the king of Sweden and his men.

“ And may it please the only God, the Almighty,
 “ to direct your steps and theirs. The basha of Aulos
 “ shall remain at Bender with a regiment of spahis and
 “ another of janissaries, to defend it in your absence;
 “ and in following our imperial orders and intentions,
 “ in all these points and articles, you will render your-
 “ self worthy of the continuance of our imperial fa-
 “ vour, as well as the praise and recompence due to
 “ all those who observe them.”

“ Done at our imperial residence of Constan-
 “ tinople, the 2d of the moon Cheval, 1214
 “ of the Hegira.”

During the time they were waiting for this answer from the grand seignior, the king wrote to the Porte, complaining of the treachery of which he imagined the kam of Tartary to be guilty; but all the passages were so well guarded, and besides, the minister was against him, that his letters never reached the sultan; nay, the vizier stopped M. Desaleurs from coming to Adrianople, where the Porte then was, for fear that minister, who was an agent of the king of Sweden, should endeavour to disconcert the plan he had formed for obliging him to depart.

Charles, enraged at seeing himself thus hunted, as it were, from the grand seignior's dominions, determined not to quit them at all.

He might have desired to return through the territories of Germany, or to take shipping on the Black Sea, in order to sail to Marseilles by the Mediterranean, but he rather chose to ask nothing, and to wait the event.

When

When the twelve hundred purses were arrived, his treasurer, Grothusen, who had learned the Turkish language during his long stay in the country, went to wait upon the basha without an interpreter, with the design of drawing the money from him, and then to form some new intrigue at the Porte, being continually held up by the foolish supposition, that the Swedish party would at last be able to arm the Ottoman empire against the czar.

Grothusen told the basha, that the king was not able to prepare his equipages without money. "But," said the basha, "we shall settle all the expences of your departure; your master has no occasion to be at any expence while he continues under my protection."

Grothusen replied, that there was so much difference between the equipages of the Turks and those of the Franks, that they were obliged to have recourse to the artificers of Sweden and Poland residing at Varnitza.

He assured him that his master was disposed to depart, and that this money would facilitate and hasten his departure. The basha, too confidently, gave the twelve hundred purses; and attended the king a few days after, in a most respectful manner, to receive his orders for his departure.

His surprize was inconceivable, when the king told him he was not yet ready to go, and that he wanted a thousand purses more. The basha, confounded at this answer, was some time before he could speak. He then retired to a window, where he was observed to shed some tears. At last, addressing himself to the king, "I shall lose my head," says he, "for having obliged your majesty: I have given you the twelve hundred purses against the express orders of my sovereign." Having said this he withdrew, oppressed with grief.

As he was going, the king stopped him, and said, that he would excuse him to the sultan. "Ah!" replied the Turk, as he departed, "my master knows

"not how to excuse faults, though he perfectly well understands the method of punishing them."

Ismael Bascha carried this piece of news to the kam, who had received the same orders with the bascha, not to suffer the twelve hundred purses to be given to the king before his departure, and yet had consented to the delivery of the money; he was as apprehensive as the bascha of the indignation of the grand seignior. They both wrote to the Porte to justify themselves; protesting that they had given the twelve hundred purses, upon the solemn promises of the king's minister that he would depart without delay; and beseeching his highness, he would not impute the king's refusal to their disobedience.

Charles, still persisting in the idea that the kam and bascha wanted to deliver him up to his enemies, ordered Mr. Funk, at that time his envoy at the Ottoman court, to lay his complaints against them before the sultan, and to ask a thousand purses more. His own great generosity, and the little account he made of money, hindered him from seeing the meanness of this proposal. He did it merely to have a refusal, and in order to have a fresh pretext for not departing. But a man must be reduced to strange extremities, to stand in need of such artifices. Savari, his interpreter, an artful and enterprising man, carried his letter to Adrianople, in spite of the diligence which the grand vizier had used to guard the passes.

Funk was obliged to make this dangerous demand. But all the answer he received was to be thrown into prison. The Sultan, in a passion, convoked an extraordinary divan, and, what very seldom happens, spoke himself on the occasion. His speech, according to the translation then made of it, was as follows:

"I hardly ever knew the king of Sweden but by his defeat at Pultowa, and by his desiring me to grant him an asylum in my dominions; I have not, I believe, any need of him, nor any reason either to love or fear him; yet notwithstanding, without consulting any other motives than the hospitality of
" a mus-

" a mussulman, and my own generosity, which sheds
" the dew of its favours upon the great as well as the
" small; upon strangers as well as my own subjects;
" I have received and assisted him, his ministers, of-
" ficers, and soldiers, and have not ceased for these
" three years and a half to load him with presents.

" I have granted him a considerable guard to con-
" duct him into his own kingdom. He asked a
" thousand purses to defray some expences, though I
" pay them all; in the room of which, I granted him
" twelve hundred. After having got these out of the
" hands of the Serafquier of Bender, he asks a thousand
" purses more, and refuses to depart, under a pre-
" tence that the guard is too small, whereas, it is but
" too large to pass through the country of a friend.

" I ask then, whether it would be violating the
" laws of hospitality, to send back this prince; and
" whether foreign powers ought to accuse me of
" violence and injustice, in case I should be obliged
" to compel him to depart?" All the divan answered,
that by so doing, the grand seignior would act but
with justice.

The musti declared that hospitality from mussulmen
towards infidels, was not required, and much less to-
wards the ungrateful; and he gave his fetfa a kind of
mandate, which generally accompanies the important
orders of the grand seignior; these fetfas are revered
as oracles, though the very persons by whom they are
given are as much slaves to the Sultan as any others.

The order and the fetfa were carried to Bender by
the Bouyouk Imraour, grand master of the horse, and
a chiaou basha, first usher. The basha of Bender re-
ceived the order at the house of the Kam of Tartary,
from whence he immediately repaired to Varnitza, to
ask the king whether he would depart as a friend, or
reduce him to the necessity of executing the Sultan's
orders.

Charles, thus menaced, was not master of his
passion. " Obey your master, if you dare," says he
to the basha, " and leave my presence immediately."

The basha, fired with indignation, returned at full gallop, contrary to the usual custom of the Turks; and chancing to meet Fabricius in his way, he called out to him, as he passed, saying, "The king will not hear reason; you will see strange things presently." The same day he discontinued the supply of the king's provisions, and removed his guard of janissaries. He caused intimation to be given to all the Poles and Cossacks at Varnitza, that, if they had a mind to have any provisions, they must quit the camp of the king of Sweden, and repair to Bender, and put themselves under the protection of the Porte. They all obeyed, and left the king without any other attendants than the officers of his household, and three hundred Swedish soldiers, to make head against twenty thousand Tartars, and six thousand Turks.

There was now no provision in the camp either for the men or their horses. The king ordered twenty of the fine Arabian horses, which had been sent him by the grand seignior, to be shot without the camp, saying, "I will have none of their provisions, nor their horses." This was an excellent regale to the Tartars, who, as is well known, think horse flesh delicious food. In the mean time, the Turks and Tartars invested the king's little camp on every side.

The king, without the least discomposure, made a regular intrenchment with his three hundred Swedes, in which work he himself assisted; his chancellor, his treasurer, his secretaries, his valets de chambre, and all domesticks giving likewise their assistance. Some barricadoed the windows, and others fastened beams behind the doors, in the form of buttresses.

As soon as the house was sufficiently barricadoed, and the king had rode round his pretended fortification, he sat down to chess with his favourite Grothufen, with as much tranquility as if every thing was in the greatest security. Happily M. Fabricius, the envoy of Holstein, did not lodge at Varnitza, but at a small village between Varnitza and Bender, where Mr. Jeffereys, the English envoy to the king of Sweden, likewise

wife resided. These two ministers, seeing the storm ready to burst, took on themselves the office of mediators between the Turks and the king. The kam, and especially the basha of Bender, who had no mind to offer violence to the Swedish monarch, received with eagerness the offers of these two ministers. They had two conferences at Bender, in which they were assisted by the usher of the seraglio, and the grand master of the horse, who had brought the sultan's order, and the musti's fetfa.

M. Fabricius * declared to them that his Swedish majesty had many cogent reasons to believe that they meant to deliver him up to his enemies in Poland. The kam, the basha, and all the rest, swore by their heads, and called God to witness, that they detested an action so horribly perfidious; and that they would shed the last drop of their blood rather than suffer the least disrespect to be shewn to the king in Poland; adding, that they had in their hands the Russian and Polish ambassadors, who would answer with their lives for the least affront that should be offered to the king of Sweden. In fine, they complained bitterly that the king should conceive such injurious suspicions against people who had received him so politely, and treated him with so much humanity. Though oaths are frequently the language of perfidy, Fabricius could not help being persuaded: he thought he could discern in their protestations that air of truth which falsehood can, at best, but imitate imperfectly. He knew perfectly well there had been a secret correspondence between the kam of Tartary and king Augustus; but he was at last persuaded, that the only end of their negotiation was to oblige Charles XII. to quit the dominions of the grand seignior. Whether Fabricius deceived himself or not, he assured them, he would represent to the king the injustice of his suspicions. "But", adds he, "do you intend to compel him to depart?" "Yes," says the basha, "such is the order of our master."

* The whole of this account is related by M. Fabricius in his Letters.

He then entreated them to consider seriously whether that order implied that they should shed the blood of a crowned head; "yes," replies the kam, in a passion, "if that crowned head disobeys the grand seignior in his dominions."

In the mean time every thing being ready for the assault, the death of Charles XII. seemed inevitable; but the order of the sultan not expressly saying whether they were to kill him in case of resistance, the basha prevailed on the kam to let him dispatch an express to Adrianople, where the grand seignior then resided, to receive the last orders of his highness.

M. Jeffereys and M. Fabricius having procured this short respite, hastened to acquaint the king with it; they arrived with all the eagerness of people who bring good news; but were received very coldly; he called them unsolicited mediators, and still persisted in the belief that the order of the sultan and the fetva of the musti were both forged, in as much as they had sent to the Porte for fresh orders.

The English minister retired, firmly resolved to interfere no more in the affairs of so inflexible a prince. M. Fabricius, beloved by the king, and more accustomed to his humour than the English minister, remained with him, to conjure him not to hazard so precious a life on such an unnecessary occasion.

The king for answer shewed him his fortifications, and begged he would employ his mediation only to procure him some provisions. The Turks were easily prevailed upon to allow provisions to be conveyed to the king's camp, until the return of the courier from Adrianople. The kam himself had strictly enjoined his Tartars, who were eager for pillage, not to make any attempt against the Swedes, till the arrival of fresh orders; so that Charles went sometimes out of his camp with forty horse, and rode through the midst of the Tartars, who with great respect left him a free passage; he would even march directly up to their lines, which, instead of resisting, would immediately open to him.

At

At last the order of the grand seignior being come, to put to the sword all the Swedes who should make the least resistance, and not even to spare the life of the king, the basha had the complaisance to shew the order to M. Fabricius, to the end that he might make his last effort to turn the obstinacy of Charles. Fabricius went immediately to acquaint him with these sad tidings. "Have you seen the order you speak of?" said the king. "Yes;" replied Fabricius. "Well then, go tell them, in my name, that this second order is another forgery, and that I will not depart." Fabricius threw himself at his feet, fell into a passion, and reproached him with his obstinacy; but all to no purpose. "Return to your Turk," said the king to him, smiling; "if they attack me, I shall know how to defend myself."

The king's chaplains likewise threw themselves on their knees before him, conjuring him not to expose to certain death the unhappy remains of Pultowa, and especially his own sacred person; assuring him that resistance in such a case was altogether unjustifiable; and that it was a direct violation of all the laws of hospitality, to resolve to continue with strangers against their will; especially with those strangers who had so long and so generously supported him. The king, though he had not been angry with Fabricius, fell into a passion with his priests, and told them, that he had taken them to pray for him, and to give him advice.

The generals Hord and Dardoff, whose sentiments had always been against hazarding a battle which could not fail of proving unsuccessful, shewed the king their breasts covered with wounds, which they had received in his service; and assured him that they were ready to lay down their lives for him; but begged that it might be, at least, upon a more necessary occasion. "I know, by your wounds, and my own," says Charles to them, "that we have fought valiantly together. You have done your duty hitherto; do it to-day likewise." Nothing now remained but to obey. Every one was ashamed not to court death with
their

their king. This prince, being now prepared for the assault, flattered himself in secret that he should have the honour of sustaining, with three hundred Swedes, the effort of a whole army. He assigned to every man his post: his chancellor Mullern, and the secretary Empreus and his clerks, were to defend the chancery house; baron Fief, at the head of the officers of the kitchen, was stationed in another post; the grooms of the stable and the cooks had another place to guard; for with him every one was a soldier: he then rode from the intrenchments to his house, promising rewards to every one, creating officers, and assuring them that he would make captains of the very meanest of his servants who should fight with courage.

It was not long before they beheld the army of the Turks and Tartars advancing to attack this little entrenchment with ten pieces of cannon and two mortars. The horses tails waved in the air; the clarions sounded; the cries of "Alla, Alla," were heard on every side. Baron Grothusen remarked, that the Turks did not mix in their cries any injurious reflections against the king, but that they only called him "Demirbash," (head of iron.) He therefore instantly resolved to go out of the camp alone, and unarmed; and accordingly advanced to the lines of the janissaries, most of whom had received money from him: "What, my friends," says he to them, in their own language, "are you come to massacre three hundred Swedes, who are defenceless? You brave janissaries, who have pardoned an hundred thousand Russians, upon their crying Amman, (pardon) have you forgot the many favours you have received from us? and would you assassinate this great king of Sweden, whom you love, and whose liberality you have so often experienced? My friends, he desires but three days, and the orders of the sultan are not so strict as you are taught to believe."

These words produced an effect which Grothusen himself could not have expected. The janissaries swore by their beards that they would not attack the king, but would give him the three days he demanded.

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In vain the signal for assault was given; the janissaries, so far from obeying, threatened to fall upon their leaders, if they would not grant the three days to the king of Sweden: they then went to the basha of Bender's tent, crying out that the sultan's orders were fictitious; to which unexpected sedition the basha had nothing to oppose but patience.

He affected a satisfaction at the generous resolution of the janissaries, and ordered them to return to Bender. The kam of Tartary, being an impetuous man, would have given the assault immediately, with his own troops; but the basha, who was not willing that the Tartars should have all the honour of taking the king, while he himself, perhaps, might be punished for the disobedience of the janissaries, persuaded the kam to wait till the next day.

The basha, on his return to Bender, assembled all the officers of the janissaries, and the oldest soldiers, to whom he read, and also shewed them, the positive order of the sultan, together with the musti's fetfa. Sixty of the oldest, with venerable grey beards, who had received a thousand presents from the hands of the king of Sweden, proposed to go to him in person, to intreat him to put himself into their hands, and to permit them to serve him as guards.

The basha agreed to it; as indeed there was no expedient he would not have taken, rather than have been reduced to the necessity of killing this prince. These sixty old veterans accordingly repaired the next morning to Varnitza, having nothing in their hands but long white rods, the only arms of the janissaries when they are not at war: for the Turks regard the christian custom of carrying swords in time of peace, and of entering armed into churches, and the houses of their friends, as truly barbarous.

They addressed themselves to baron Grothusen and chancellor Mullern: they told them that they came to serve as faithful guards to the king; and that if he pleased they would conduct him to Adrianople, where
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he might personally speak with the grand seignior. At the time they were making this proposal, the king was reading the letters which were brought from Constantinople, and which Fabricius, who could no longer attend him in person, had sent him secretly by a janissary. They were from count Poniatowsky, who could neither serve him at Bender nor Adrianople, being detained at Constantinople, by order of the Porte, from the time of his making the imprudent demand of a thousand purses. He therein told the king, That the orders of the sultan to seize or massacre his royal person, in case of resistance, were but too true: that indeed the sultan was deceived by his ministers; but that the more he was imposed upon, he would, for that very reason, be the more faithfully obeyed: that he must submit to the time, and yield to necessity: that he took the liberty to advise him to try every expedient with the ministers by way of negotiations; not to be inflexible in a matter which required the gentlest management; and to expect from time and good policy a remedy for that evil, which, by violent measures, would be only rendered incurable.

But neither the proposals of the old janissaries, nor the letters of Poniatowsky, could give the king even an idea that he could yield without incurring dishonour. He chose rather to perish by the hands of the Turks, than to be, in any respect, their prisoner; he therefore dismissed the janissaries, without deigning to see them, and sent them word, That if they did not immediately depart, he would shave their beards for them; which, in the eastern countries, is esteemed the most outrageous affront.

The old men, filled with the most lively indignation, returned home, crying out as they went, "Ah this head of iron! since he will perish, let him perish." They went and gave the basha an account of their commission, and informed their comrades at Bender of the strange reception they had met with. They then swore to obey the basha's orders without delay, and were as impatient

impatient to begin the assault, as they had been backward the day before.

The word of command was immediately given; the Turks marched up to the fortifications; the Tartars were already waiting for them, and the cannon began to play. The janissaries on the one side, and the Tartars on the other, in an instant forced the little camp: hardly had twenty Swedes time to draw their swords, before the whole three hundred were surrounded and made prisoners, without resistance. The king was then on horseback, between his house and his camp, with the generals Hord, Dardoff, and Sparre; and seeing that all his soldiers were taken prisoners before his eyes, he said, with great composure, to these three officers, "Come, let us go and defend the house; we will fight," adds he with a smile, "*pro aris & focis.*"

Accordingly he galloped with them up to the house, in which he had placed about forty domestics as sentinels, and which he had fortified in the best manner he was able.

The generals, accustomed as they were to the dauntless intrepidity of their master, were surprised to see him resolve in cold blood, and even with an air of pleasantry, to defend himself against ten pieces of cannon and a whole army: nevertheless they followed him, with some guards and domestics, which made in all about twenty persons.

When they came to the door, they found it beset by the janissaries; besides which, two hundred Turks and Tartars had already entered by a window, and had made themselves masters of all the apartments, except a large hall, into which the king's domestics had retired. This hall was happily near the door at which the king designed to enter with his little troop of twenty persons; he threw himself off his horse with pistol and sword in hand, and his followers did the same.

The janissaries fell upon him on all sides: they were animated with the promise which the basha had made, of eight ducats of gold to every one who should only touch

touch his cloaths, in case they could take him. He wounded and killed, however, every one who approached his person. A janissary, whom he had wounded, clapped his blunderbuss to his face, and, had he not been jostled by the arm of a Turk, owing to the crowd, which moved backwards and forwards like waves, the king had certainly been killed, as the ball grazed upon his nose, and carried with it a part of his ear, and then broke the arm of general Hord, who was destined to be wounded by the side of his master.

The king plunged his sword in the janissary's breast; at the same time his domestics, who were shut up in the great hall, opened the door: the king entered like an arrow, followed by his little troop; they instantly shut the door, and barricadoed it with whatever they could find. In this manner was Charles XII. shut up in a hall, with all his attendants, consisting of about sixty men, officers, guards, secretaries, valets de chambre, and domestics of every kind.

The janissaries and Tartars pillaged the rest of the house, and filled the apartments. "Come," says the king, "let us go, and drive out these barbarians:" and putting himself at the head of his men, he with his own hands opened the door of the hall that led to his bed-chamber, rushed into the room, and fired upon those who were plundering.

The Turks, loaded with spoil, and terrified at the sudden appearance of the king, whom they had been accustomed to respect, threw down their arms, leaped out of the window, or retired to the cellars; the king taking advantage of their confusion, and his own men being animated with success, they pursued the Turks from chamber to chamber, killing or wounding those who had not made their escape; and, in a quarter of an hour, cleared the house of their enemies.

In the heat of the fight the king perceived two janissaries, who had hid themselves under his bed; one of them he killed with his sword, the other asked pardon, by crying "Amman." "I give thee thy life," said the king to him, "on condition that you go and
" give

“ give to the basha a faithful account of what you
“ have seen.” The Turk readily promised to do this,
and was allowed to leap out at the window like the
rest.

The Swedes being, at last, masters of the house,
again shut and barricadoed the windows. They were
not in want of arms, a ground room full of musquets
and powder having escaped the tumultuary search of
the janissaries. These they employed to good service;
they fired through the windows almost close upon the
Turks, of whom, in less than half a quarter of an hour,
they killed two hundred.

The cannon still played upon the house; yet, as the
stones were very soft, they only made some holes, but
demolished nothing.

The kam of Tartary, and the basha, who were de-
sirous of taking the king alive, and being ashamed to
lose so many men, and to employ a whole army against
sixty persons, thought it adviseable to set fire to the
house, in order to oblige the king to surrender. They
caused some arrows, twisted about with lighted matches,
to be shot upon the roof, and against the doors and
windows, and the house was in flames in a moment.
The roof, all on fire, was ready to tumble upon the
Swedes. The king, with great calmness, gave orders
to extinguish the fire; finding a little barrel of liquor,
he took it up himself, and, assisted by two Swedes,
threw it upon the place where the fire was most vio-
lent. At last he recollected that the barrel was full
of brandy; but the hurry inseparable from such a scene
of confusion, hindered him from thinking of it in
time. The fire now raged with double fury; the
king's apartment was entirely consumed; the great
hall, where the Swedes were, was filled with a terrible
smoke, mixed with sheets of flame, which entered in
at the doors of the neighbouring apartments; one half
of the roof had sunk within the house, and the other
had fell on the outside, cracking amidst the flames.

A centinel called Walberg, in this extremity ven-
tured to cry, that there was a necessity for surrendering.

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"There is a strange man," said the king, "to imagine that it is not more glorious to be burnt than taken prisoner!" Another centinel, named Rosen, had the presence of mind to observe, that the chancery-house, which was but fifty paces distant, had a stone roof, and was proof against fire; that they ought to fall forth, take possession of that house, and then defend themselves. "There is a true Swede for you," cried the king, embracing the centinel, and made him a colonel upon the spot: "come on my friends," said he, "take as much powder and ball with you as you can, and let us take possession of the chancery, sword in hand."

The Turks, who all the while surrounded the house, saw with admiration, mixed with terror, the Swedes continue in the house all in flames; but their astonishment was still greater when they saw the door open, and the king and his followers rushing out upon them like so many madmen. Charles and his principal officers were armed with swords and pistols; every man fired two pistols at once, as soon as the doors were opened; and, in the twinkling of an eye, throwing away their pistols and drawing their swords, they made the Turks recoil above fifty paces: but in a moment after this little troop was surrounded; the king, who was booted, according to his usual custom, entangled himself with his spurs, and fell; one and twenty janissaries at once sprung upon him; he immediately threw up his sword into the air, to save himself the mortification of surrendering it; and the Turks carried him to the basha's quarters, some taking hold of his legs, and others of his arms, in the same manner as sick persons are carried, to prevent their being hurt.

The moment the king found himself taken prisoner, the violence of his temper, and the fury which such a long and desperate fight must have naturally inspired, gave place at once to a mild and gentle behaviour: He dropped not a word of impatience, nor was an angry look to be seen in his face. He regarded
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the janissaries with a smiling countenance; and they carried him off, crying "Alla," with an indignation, mixed at the same time with respect. His officers were taken at the same time, and stripped by the Turks and Tartars. It was on the 12th of February, 1713, that this strange event happened, which was followed with very singular consequences *.

B O O K VII.

A R G U M E N T.

The Turks convey Charles to Demirtash:—King Stanislaw taken thither at the same Time:—The hazardous Situation of M. de Villelongue:—Revolutions in the Seraglio: Battle in Pomerania:—Altena burnt by the Swedes:—Charles at last sets out on his Return to his own Dominions:—His strange Manner of travelling:—His Arrival at Stralsund:—His Misfortunes:—Successes of Peter the Great:—His triumphant Entry into Peterburgh.

THE basha of Bender waited in his tent, with great solemnity, the arrival of Charles, attended by one Marco, an interpreter. He received that prince

* M. Norberg, who was not present at this adventure, hath, in this particular part of his history, only copied the account from M. de Voltaire; but he hath mangled it: he hath suppressed several interesting circumstances, and has not been able to justify the temerity of Charles XII. All that he hath been able to say against M. de Voltaire, with regard to the affair of Bender, is reducible to the adventure of the *Sieur Fredericus*, valet de chambre to the king of Sweden, who, some pretend, was burnt in the king's house, and, according to others, was cut in two by the Tartars. La Motraye alledges likewise, that the king of Sweden did not use the words "*we will fight pro aris & focis*:" but M. Fabricius, who was present, affirms that the king did pronounce these words; that La Motraye was not near enough to hear them, and that if he had he was not capable of comprehending their meaning, as he did not understand a word of Latin.

with the most profound respect, and entreated him to repose himself on a sofa; but the king not regarding the Turk's civilities, continued standing.

"Blessed be the Almighty," said the basha, "that your majesty is alive: I am extremely sorry, that your majesty obliged me to execute the orders of his highness." The king, only vexed that his three hundred soldiers suffered themselves to be taken in their entrenchments, replied; "Ah! had my soldiers defended themselves as they ought, you would not have forced our camp in ten days." "Alas," cried the Turk, "that so much courage should be so ill employed!" He ordered the king to be conducted back to Bender, on a horse richly caparisoned. The Swedes were all either killed or taken prisoners; Charles's equipage, goods, papers, and most necessary utensils, were either plundered or burnt: and the Swedish officers were to be seen on the public roads, almost naked, and chained two and two, following on foot the Tartars or janissaries. The chancellor and the general officers had no other destiny; they were made the slaves of the soldiers, to whose share they had fallen.

Ismael Basha having conducted Charles to his *seraglio* at Bender, gave up to him his own apartment, and ordered him to be served like a king; but not without taking the precaution, to place some janissaries as centinels at the chamber-door. A bed was also prepared for him; but he threw himself down upon a sofa, booted as he was, and fell fast asleep. An officer that stood near him in waiting, covered his head with his cap; but the king, upon awaking from his first sleep, threw it off; and the Turk beheld with astonishment, a sovereign prince sleeping in his boots and bare-headed. The next morning, Ismael introduced Fabricius into the king's chamber. Fabricius found his majesty with his clothes torn; his boots, his hands, and his whole body covered with blood and powder, and his eye-brows burnt, yet maintaining a serene countenance even in this condition. He threw himself upon his knees before him, without being able to utter

utter a word; but soon recovering from his surprize, by the free and easy manner in which the king addressed him, he resumed his usual familiarity, and they began to talk of the battle of Bender with much pleasantry. "They say," said Fabricius, "that your majesty killed twenty janissaries with your own hand." "Well, well," replied the king, "a story always gains one half by report." In the midst of this conversation, the basha presented to the king his favourite Grothusen, and colonel Ribbins, whom he had had the generosity to redeem at his own expence. Fabricius undertook to ransom the other prisoners.

Jeffreys, the envoy of England, joined with him to procure the money to defray the expence. A Frenchman, who had come to Bender out of curiosity, and who hath wrote a short account of these transactions, gave all that he had. Thus did these strangers, assisted by the interest, and even by the money, of the basha, redeem not only the officers, but also their clothes, from the hands of the Turks and Tartars.

Next day the king was conducted, as a prisoner, in a chariot covered with scarlet, towards Adrianople: his treasurer Grothusen was with him: chancellor Mullern and several officers followed in another carriage: several were on horseback; and when they cast their eyes on the chariot in which the king was, they could not refrain from tears. The basha was at the head of the envoy. Fabricius represented it to him, that it was shameful the king should want a sword, and begged he would give him one. "God forbid!" said the basha, "he would cut our beards for us, if he had one." However, in a few hours after, he gave him one.

As they were thus conducting the king, disarmed and a prisoner, who, but a few years before, had given law to so many states, and had seen himself the arbiter of the north, and the terror of Europe; there appeared in the same place, another example of the frailty of human grandeur.

King Stanislaus had been seized in the Turkish dominions, and they were now carrying him to Bender, at the very time that they were taking Charles from it.

Stanislaus, being no longer supported by the hand which had made him king, and finding himself without money, and consequently without interest in Poland, had retired at first into Pomerania; and, not being able to preserve his own kingdom, he had done every thing, as far as was in his power, to defend the dominions of his benefactor. He had even gone to Sweden, in order to hasten the reinforcements that were so much wanting in Livonia and Pomerania: in short, he had done every thing that could be expected from the friend of Charles XII. At this very time, the first king of Prussia, a prince of prudence, being justly apprehensive of the too near neighbourhood of the Muscovites, thought proper to enter into a league with Augustus and the republic of Poland, in order to send back the Russians to their own country, and hoped to engage the king of Sweden himself in this project. Three great events were expected from this plan; the peace of the north, the return of Charles to his own dominions, and the establishment of a strong barrier against the Russians, already become formidable to Europe. The preliminary article of this treaty, upon which the public tranquillity depended, was the abdication of Stanislaus; who not only accepted the proposal, but even charged himself with being the negotiator of a peace which deprived him of his crown. To which necessity, the public welfare, the glory of the sacrifice, and the interest of Charles, to whom he owed every thing, and whom he loved, prompted him. He wrote to Bender; explained to the king of Sweden the situation of his affairs, the remedy that could be applied: and conjured him not to oppose an abdication, become necessary, by the strange conjunctures of the times; and honourable, by the noble motive from which it proceeded: he also entreated him not to sacrifice the interests of Sweden to those of an unhappy friend, who chearfully yielded to the public good.

Charles

Charles received these letters at Varnitza: and said to the courier, in a passion, in presence of several witnesses, "If my friend will not be a king, I can easily find another that will."

Stanislaus was obstinately bent on the sacrifice which Charles opposed. The times seem as if they were destined, by providence, to produce strange sentiments, and still more extraordinary actions. Stanislaus resolved to go himself, and prevail on Charles; though he ran a greater risk in abdicating the throne, than ever he had done in obtaining it. One evening, about six o'clock, he stole from the Swedish army, which he commanded in Pomerania, and set out, accompanied by baron Sparr, who hath since been an ambassador in England and France, and another colonel. He assumed the name of a French gentleman, called Haran, then a major in the Swedish army, and who lately died commander of Dantzic. He passed close by the whole army of the enemy; was sometimes stopped, and as often released by virtue of a passport which he had in the name of Haran; and, at last, after many perils and dangers, arrived on the frontiers of Turkey.

When he had reached Moldavia, he sent back baron Sparr to his army, and entered Yassy, the capital of Moldavia, thinking himself safe in a country, where the king of Sweden had been treated so respectfully, and never entertained the least suspicion of what had happened.

He was asked whom he was: to which he answered, that he was a major of a regiment in the service of Charles XII. At the very mention of the name he was seized, and carried before the hospadar of Moldavia, who, having already learned, from the Gazettes, that Stanislaus had privately withdrawn from his army, began to suspect that this was the very man. He had heard the king's figure described so exactly, that it was very easy to discover him; an open and engaging countenance, joined to an uncommon air of sweetness.

The hospadar interrogated him, put to him a great many captious questions, and at last asked him what commission he held in the Swedish army. Stanislaus and the hospadar carried on their conversation in Latin. "*Major sum,*" said Stanislaus. "*Imo maximus es,*" replied the Moldavian; and immediately presented him with a chair of state, and treated him as a king; but yet like a king who was a prisoner, placed a strict guard about a Greek convent, in which he was obliged to remain, till they received the sultan's orders. The orders were to conduct him to Bender, which place Charles XII. had been just removed from.

The news of this event was brought to the basha, at the time he was accompanying the king of Sweden's chariot. The basha immediately acquainted Fabricius with it, who, approaching Charles's chariot, told him he was not the only king that was a prisoner in the hands of the Turks; for that Stanislaus was but a few miles off, under a guard of soldiers. "Run to him," "my dear Fabricius," said Charles, without being disconcerted at the accident, "tell him never to make peace with Augustus, and assure him that in a little time our affairs will change." So inflexible was Charles in his own opinions; that, abandoned as he was in Poland, attacked in his own dominions, a captive in a Turkish litter, and led a prisoner without knowing whither they were carrying him, he still rested on fortune, and still expected to have an hundred thousand men from the Ottoman Porte. Fabricius hastened to execute his commission, attended by a janissary, having obtained permission from the basha. At a few miles distance, he met the body of soldiers that conducted Stanislaus: he addressed himself to a cavalier that rode in the midst of them, clad in a French dress, and but indifferently mounted; and asked him in the German tongue, where the king of Poland was. The person to whom he spoke was Stanislaus himself, whom he did not recollect under this disguise. "What, said the king, don't you know
"me?"

"me?" Fabricius then represented to him the wretched state in which the king of Sweden was; and that his designs, though now rendered useless, were still unshaken.

As Stanislaus drew near to Bender, the basha, who had returned thither after having accompanied Charles several miles, sent the king of Poland an Arabian horse, with a magnificent harness.

He was received at Bender amidst a discharge of the artillery; and, excepting his liberty, of which he was as yet deprived, he had no cause to complain of the treatment he met with *. In the mean time they had conducted Charles to Adrianople. That town was already filled with the account of his late battle. The Turks condemned and admired him at the same time; but the divan was so provoked, that they threatened to confine him in one of the islands of the Archipelago.

Stanislaus, king of Poland, who did me the honour to inform me of the greatest part of these particulars, assured me also, that it was proposed in the divan, to confine him likewise, in one of the islands of Greece; but, a few months after, the grand seignior being mollified, he permitted him to depart.

M. Desaleurs, who could have taken his part, and could have prevented them from offering such an affront to every Christian king, was at Constantinople; as was also M. Poniatowsky, whose fertile and enterprising genius they had ever dreaded. The greatest part of the Swedes at Adrianople were in prison; and the sultan's throne seemed to be inaccessible on all sides, to the complaints of the king of Sweden.

The marquis de Fierville, who had resided with Charles at Bender as a private agent of France, was at that time at Adrianople. He dared to do that prince a piece of service, at a time when he was abandoned

* The good chaplain Norberg alledges that this is a contradiction, saying that king Stanislaus was at once detained a prisoner, and treated as a king, at Bender. How! had not this poor man discernment enough to perceive, that it is possible for a man to be a prisoner, and yet loaded with honours at the same time!

or oppressed by every one. He was happily seconded in this design by a French gentleman, of an ancient house in Champagne, called Villelongue, a man of intrepidity, who, not having a fortune equal to his courage, and charmed with the fame of the king of Sweden, had come to Turkey with a view of entering into the service of that prince.

M. de Fierville, with the assistance of this young man, wrote a memorial in the name of the king of Sweden, in which he made that monarch demand satisfaction of the sultan for the insult offered, in his person, to all crowned heads, and for the treachery, real or supposed, of the kam and the basha of Bender.

In this memorial he accused the vizier and other ministers of having been corrupted by the Russians, of imposing upon the grand seignior, of having intercepted the king's letters to his highness, and of having, by their artifices, extorted from the sultan an order so contrary to the hospitality of Mussulmen, by which the law of nations was violated, and in a manner so unworthy of a great emperor; that they had attacked, with twenty thousand men, a king who had none but his own domestics to defend him, and who relied upon the sacred word of the sultan.

When this memorial was drawn up, it was necessary to translate it into the Turkish language, and written in a particular hand, and upon a certain kind of paper, which is always used in addresses to the sultan.

They applied to several French interpreters in the town, but the affairs of the king of Sweden were so desperate, and the vizier declared so openly against him, that not a single interpreter dared to translate it. At last they found a stranger, whose hand was not known at the Porte, who, having received a handsome recompence, and the assurance of profound secrecy, translated the memorial into the Turkish language, and wrote it upon the proper sort of paper. Baron d'Arvidson, a Swedish officer, counterfeited the king's signature. Fierville, who had the royal signet, appended it to the writing; and they sealed the whole with the
arms

arms of Sweden. Villelongue charged himself with the delivery of it into the hands of the grand seignior, as he went to the mosque, according to his usual custom. The like methods had been frequently employed to present memorials to the sultan against his ministers; but that very circumstance rendered the success of this enterprize the more difficult, and the danger still greater.

The vizier, who foresaw that the Swedes would demand justice of the sultan, and, being instructed by the unhappy fate of his predecessors, had given peremptory orders to allow no one to approach the grand seignior's person, but to seize every one who should be about the mosque with petitions in their hands.

Villelongue knew of this order, and was not ignorant that, by breaking it, he run the risque of losing his head. He therefore laid aside his Frank's dress, and put on a Grecian habit; and concealing the letter in his bosom, repaired betimes to the neighbourhood of the mosque to which the grand seignior resorted. He counterfeited the madman, and dancing between two files of janissaries through which the sultan was to pass, he purposely let drop some pieces of money from his pockets, as if by chance, in order to amuse the guards.

When the sultan approached, the guards endeavoured to remove Villelongue; but he fell on his knees and struggled with the janissaries: at last his cap fell off, and he was discovered by his long hair to be a Frank: he received several blows, and was very roughly handled. The grand seignior, who was near, heard the scuffle, and demanded the cause of it. Villelongue cried out with all his force *Amman! Amman!* Mercy! pulling the letter out of his bosom. The sultan ordered the guards to let him approach. Villelongue instantly ran to him, embraced his stirrup, and presented the memorial, saying, "*Sued crall dan*, It is the king of Sweden who gives you this." The sultan put the letter in his bosom, and proceeded to the mosque. In the mean while they secured Villelongue,

longue, and imprisoned him in one of the exterior apartments of the seraglio.

The sultan having read the letter upon his leaving the mosque, resolved to interrogate the prisoner himself. This account will perhaps appear somewhat incredible; but yet nothing is here advanced, but what is vouched by the letters of M. de Villelongue; and when so brave an officer asserts any thing upon his honour, he merits some credit. He assured me then, that the sultan laid aside his imperial garb, and the particular turban which he wears, and disguised himself like an officer of janissaries, a thing which he frequently does. He brought along with him an old man of the island of Malta, who served as an interpreter. By favour of this disguise, Villelongue enjoyed an honour which no christian ambassador had ever obtained: he had a private conference with the Turkish emperor for a quarter of an hour. He did not fail to represent the wrongs which the king of Sweden had suffered, to accuse the ministers, and to demand satisfaction, with so much the more freedom, as in talking to the sultan, he was only supposed to be talking to his equal. He could easily discover, notwithstanding the darkness of the prison, that it was no other than the grand seignior himself; but this only served to give him the more spirit in the conversation. The pretended officer of the janissaries said to Villelongue, in his own language; "Christian, assure thyself, that the sultan, my master, has the soul of an emperor; and that your king of Sweden, if he has reason on his side, shall have justice." Villelongue was soon after set at liberty; and in a few weeks after, a sudden change was seen in the seraglio, which the Swedes attribute to this conference alone. The musti was deposed, the kan of Tartary was banished to Rhodes; and the serasquier basha of Bender, confined in one of the islands of the Archipelago.

The Ottoman Porte is so subject to the like revolutions, that it is difficult to decide, whether the sultan really meant, by these sacrifices, to appease the king of Sweden

Sweden or not. Indeed, from the treatment which that prince received, it does not appear that the Porte had any great inclination to oblige him.

The favourite, Ali Coumourgi, was suspected of being the principal cause of all these changes, in order to serve his own particular views. It was also said, that he was the means of the kam of Tartary, and the ferasquier of Bender having been banished, under the pretext of giving the king the twelve hundred purses, in contradiction to the orders of the grand seignior. He likewise raised to the throne of Tartary the brother of the deposed kam, a young man of his own age, who had little regard for his brother, and upon whom the favourite depended greatly in prosecuting the wars he had meditated. With regard to the grand vizier Jussuf, he was not deposed till some weeks after, when Soliman basha obtained the title of prime vizier.

It is incumbent on me to declare, that M. de Villelongue and several Swedes assured me, that the letter, presented to the sultan, in the king's name, was the cause of this change at the Porte: yet M. de Fierville is of a contrary opinion. But indeed, I have found the like contradictions in many memorials that have been submitted to my perusal. In such cases, it is the duty of an historian to give matters of fact ingenuously, without endeavouring to dive into motives; and to confine himself to the relation of what he does know, without troubling himself about things which he is not acquainted with.

In the mean time they conducted Charles XII. to the little castle of Demirtash, near to Adrianople. An innumerable number of Turks were assembled on the road to see the arrival of that prince, whom they carried, from his chariot to the castle, on a sofa; but Charles, that he might not be seen by the crowd, put a cushion upon his head.

The Porte was solicited to permit him to reside at Demotica, a little town six leagues from Adrianople, and near the famous river Hebrus, now called Merizza; but it was not till after several days that they granted his

his request. "Go," said Coumourgi, to the grand vizier Soliman, "and tell the king of Sweden, that he may stay at Demotica all his life; but, I will answer for him, that he is not there a year, before he will want to be gone of his own accord; take care, however, not to give him any money."

Thus was the king conveyed to the little town of Demotica, where the Porte allowed him a "thaim," consisting of a considerable quantity of provisions for himself and his retinue: but they would only grant him five and twenty crowns a day in money, to buy pork and wine, two kinds of provisions which the Turks never furnish to others. The purse of five hundred crowns a day, which he had at Bender, was withdrawn.

Scarcely had he arrived at Demotica with his little court, when the grand vizier Soliman was deposed, and his place filled by Ibrahim Molla, a man of a high spirit, of great courage, but of unpolished manners. It may not be useless to make known his history, that the reader may be acquainted with the characters of all those viceroys of the Ottoman empire, upon whom the fortune of Charles so long depended.

He had been a common sailor till the accession of the sultan Achmet III. This emperor frequently disguised himself either in the habit of a private man, of a priest, or a dervise; and used to slip, in the evening, into the coffee-houses of Constantinople, and the other public places, to hear what the people there said of him, and to learn from them the sentiments of the people in general. One day he overheard this Molla complaining, that the Turkish ships never took any prizes, and swearing, that if he were a captain of a ship, he would never enter the port of Constantinople, without bringing some vessel of the infidels along with him. The grand seignior the next day gave him the command of a ship, and sent him on a cruise. The new captain returned in a few days after, with a Maltese bark, and a galley of Genoa. In about two years time he was appointed captain-general

ral of the navy, and at last grand vizier. As soon as he arrived at this post, he thought he could dispense with the interest of the favourite: and to render himself the more necessary, he projected a scheme for commencing a war against the Russians; with this view, he pitched a tent not far from the place where the king of Sweden resided.

He invited that prince to come and see him, with the new kam of Tartary, and the French ambassador. The king, who became more proud as he became more unfortunate, considered it as a most daring affront for a subject to send him an invitation: he therefore ordered his chancellor Mullern to go in his place; and he himself, who was always in the extremes, lest the Turks should not pay him that respect which was due to his royal person, or oblige him to condescend to any thing beneath his dignity, took to his bed, and resolved not to quit it, as long as he should stay at Demotica. This resolution he kept for ten months, pretending sickness; chancellor Mullern, Grothusen, and colonel Dubens, were the only persons that were admitted to his table. They had none of the conveniences with which the Franks are generally provided: all these they had lost at Bender; consequently it could not be expected, that their meals were served with much pomp or elegance. They were obliged to wait on themselves; and, during the whole time, chancellor Mullern was cook in ordinary.

During the time that Charles was thus passing his time in bed, he was apprized of the desolation of all his provinces, that were situated without the limits of Sweden.

General Steinbock, rendered illustrious by his driving the Danes out of Scania, and having conquered their choicest troops with a parcel of peasants, still maintained the reputation of the Swedish arms. He also defended, as far as he was able, Pomerania, Bremen, and the king's possessions in Germany; but could not hinder the combined armies of the Danes and Saxons from besieging Stade, a town of great strength

strength and importance, situated on the banks of the Elbe, on the dutchy of Bremen. The town was bombarded and reduced to ashes, and the garrison obliged to surrender at discretion, before Steinbock was able to advance to their assistance.

This general, who had about twelve thousand men, of which one half were cavalry, pursued the enemy, who were twice as numerous; and at last overtook them in the dutchy of Mecklenburg, at a place called Gadesbush, near a river which bears the same name. He arrived opposite to the Saxons and the Danes, on the 20th of December 1712. He was separated from them by a morass. The enemy had this morass in front, and a wood in their rear; they had also the advantage of number and situation; and their camp could not be gained, except across the morass, which the Swedes could not pass without being exposed to the fire of their artillery.

Steinbock, notwithstanding, passed the morass at the head of his troops, advanced against the enemy in order of battle, and began one of the most desperate and bloody engagements which ever happened between these rival nations. After a sharp conflict for three hours, the Danes and Saxons were routed, and obliged to quit the field of battle.

It was in this battle that a son of Augustus, by the countess of Koninsmark, known by the name of count Saxe, served his apprenticeship in the art of war. This is the same count Saxe, who had the honour afterwards to be elected duke of Courland, and who wanted nothing but power to put himself in possession of the most incontestible right which any man can have to sovereignty, I mean the unanimous consent of the people. This is also the man who has since acquired a more solid glory, by saving France at the battle of Fontenoy, by conquering Flanders, and meriting the reputation of the greatest general of the age. He commanded a regiment at Gadesbush, and had a horse killed under him: I have heard him say, that the Swedes kept their ranks; and that, even after the victory

tory was decided, and the first lines of these brave troops having their enemies lying dead at their feet, there was not a single Swedish soldier that durst even stoop to strip them, before prayers were read in the field of battle; so steady were they in the strict discipline, to which their king had always accustomed them.

Steinbock, after the victory, remembering that the Danes had reduced Stade to ashes, resolved to retaliate on Altena, which belonged to the king of Denmark. Altena stands below Hamburg, on the banks of the Elbe, which can convey ships of considerable burthen into its harbour. The king of Denmark had favoured this town with many privileges, with the design of establishing a flourishing commerce; and indeed, the industry of its inhabitants, encouraged by the prudent measures of the king, had already added Altena to the number of rich and commercial cities. Hamburg had conceived jealousy at this, and wished for nothing so much, as its destruction. As soon as Steinbock was in sight of Altena, he sent a trumpet to acquaint the inhabitants that they might retire with as many of their effects as they could carry off, for that he meant to raze their town to its foundation.

The magistrates came and threw themselves at his feet, and offered him an hundred thousand crowns for ransom. Steinbock demanded two hundred thousand. The inhabitants begged that they might be permitted to send to Hamburg, where their correspondents resided, assuring him that next day they would send him that sum; but the Swedish general replied, that they must give it instantly, or he would immediately set Altena in flames.

His troops were already in the suburbs, with torches in their hands. A feeble wooden gate, and a ditch already filled up, were the only defences the town had. The wretched inhabitants were therefore obliged to quit their houses with precipitation in the middle of the night, on the ninth of January, 1713. The rigour of the season, then excessive, was augmented by a vio-

lent north wind, which served at once to spread the flames with more expedition through the town, and to render the miseries of the poor people, who were exposed in the open fields, the more intolerable. Men and women weeping and wailing, and bending under their heavy burdens, fled to the neighbouring hills, which were covered with snow. The palsied old men were carried thither on the shoulders of the young. Several of the women, who were newly delivered, fled with their babes in their arms, and perished together on the naked rock, turning their languishing eyes towards the flames, which consumed their country. All the inhabitants had not time to quit the town, before the Swedes set fire to it. The conflagration continued from midnight till ten in the morning. Almost all the houses being of wood, they were entirely consumed; and the next day there was not the least appearance of a town left.

The aged, the sick, and women of tender constitutions, who had taken refuge in the snow, while their houses were in flames, at last crawled to the gates of Hamburg, and besought the inhabitants to receive them within the walls, and thereby to save their lives. But this was denied them, because that some contagious distempers had just before raged in Altena; and that the Hamburgers had not so great a regard for its inhabitants, as to expose themselves to the danger of having their own town infected, by receiving them. Thus did the greatest part of these miserable people expire under the walls of Hamburg, calling on heaven to witness the barbarity of the Swedes, and the treatment of the Hamburgers, which was not less inhuman.

All Germany cried out against this violence: the ministers and generals of Poland and Denmark wrote to count Steinbock, reproaching him with an act of cruelty, committed without necessity, and incapable of any excuse; and which would provoke heaven and earth against him.

Steinbock replied, " that he should not have carried things to such extremities, but to teach the enemies of the king his master, not to make war, for the future, like barbarians, but to pay some regard to the laws of nations; that they had filled Pomerania with their cruelties, laid waste that beautiful province, and sold near an hundred thousand of the inhabitants to the Turks; and that the torches which had laid Altena in ashes, were but reprisals for the red hot bullets, by which Stade had been consumed."

Such was the fury with which the Swedes and their enemies carried on the war. If Charles had appeared in Pomerania at this time, it is reasonable to imagine he might have recovered his former good fortune. His armies, though removed at so great a distance from his person, were still animated by his spirit; but the absence of a prince is always prejudicial to his affairs, and prevents his subjects from being profited by their victories. Steinbock lost by degrees what he had gained by those signal actions, which, at another time, might have been decisive.

Victorious as he was, he could not prevent the Russians, Danes, and Saxons, from re-uniting themselves. Siege was laid to his quarters: he lost some troops in several little skirmishes: and two thousand of his men were drowned in passing the Eider, as they were going to their winter-quarters in Holstein. All these losses, being in a country surrounded on every side by powerful enemies, they were utterly irreparable.

He endeavoured to defend the dutchy of Holstein against the Danes; but, notwithstanding all his measures and efforts, the country was lost, his whole army defeated, and himself taken prisoner.

Pomerania being without defence, became a prey to the allies, excepting Stralsund, the Isle of Rugen, and some neighbouring places, and was sequestered in the hands of the king of Prussia. Bremen was filled with Danish garrisons. At the same time the Russians overran Finland, and beat the Swedes, who being inferior

in point of numbers, and their resolutions forsaking them, they began to lose their superiority over their enemies.

To complete the misfortunes of Sweden, the king was obstinately determined to remain at Demotica, and still flattered himself with the hope of having assistance from the Turks, in whom he ought no longer to have reposed any confidence.

Ibrahim Molla, that bold vizier, who had been so obstinately bent on a war with the Russians, in opposition to the favourite, was strangled in the seraglio.

The place of vizier was now become so dangerous, that no one would dare to accept of it; and it continued vacant for six months. At last the favourite, Ali Coumourgi, assumed the title of grand vizier. Thus was the hopes of the king of Sweden crushed at once. He knew Coumourgi so much the better, as he had been served by him when the interest of that favourite and his own happened to coincide.

Charles had now been eleven months at Demotica, buried in sloth and oblivion: this extreme indolence succeeding so suddenly the most violent exercises, had at last actually given him the disease which he had before feigned. His death was believed throughout Europe. The council of regency, which he had established at Stockholm when he left his capital, had received no dispatches from him for some time. The senate came in a body to the princess Ulrica Eleanora, the king's sister, and intreated her to take the regency into her own hands, during the long absence of her brother. She accepted the proposal; but when she perceived that the senate wanted to oblige her to make a peace with the czar and the king of Denmark, who attacked Sweden on every side, and well knowing that her brother would never ratify such a peace, she resigned the regency, and sent into Turkey a long detail of the transaction.

Charles received his sister's packet at Demotica. The arbitrary principles which he had imbibed at his birth, made him forget that Sweden had formerly been free,
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and that in ancient times, the senate governed the kingdom conjointly with the king. He regarded this body as a parcel of domestics, who wanted to usurp the command of the house in their master's absence: he wrote to them, that if they pretended to assume the reins of government, he would send them one of his boots, from which he would oblige them to receive their orders.

To prevent, therefore, these attempts upon his authority in Sweden, and to defend his kingdom now in the last extremity, deprived of all hopes of assistance from the Ottoman Porte, and relying on himself alone, he signified to the grand vizier his desire of departing, and returning by the way of Germany.

M. Desaleurs, the French ambassador, who was charged with the affairs of Sweden, made the proposal. "Well," said the vizier to him, "did not I tell you, that a year would not pass, before the king of Sweden would desire to depart? Tell him, it is at his choice to go or stay; but let him come to a fixed determination, and appoint the day of his departure, that he may not a second time embarrass us as he did at Bender."

Count Desaleurs softened the harshness of this answer to the king. The day was accordingly fixed; but before Charles would leave Turkey, he resolved to display the pomp of a great king, though involved in all the difficulties of a fugitive prince. He gave Grothusen the title of his ambassador extraordinary, and sent him to take his leave, after the manner of Constantinople, followed by a retinue of eighty persons, all superbly dressed.

The divers stratagems to which he was reduced, in order to raise a sufficiency to defray this expence, was as humiliating, as the embassy was pompous.

M. Desaleurs lent the king forty thousand crowns. Grothusen had agents at Constantinople, who borrowed in his name, at the rate of fifty per cent. interest, a thousand crowns of a Jew, two hundred pistoles of an English merchant, and a thousand livres of a Turk.

In this manner did they amass a sum sufficient to enable them to act, in the presence of the divan, the brilliant comedy of the Swedish embassy. Grothusen received, at Constantinople, all the honours that the Porte usually pay to king's ambassadors-extraordinary on the day of their audience. The design of all this parade was only to obtain money from the grand vizier; but that minister was inexorable.

Grothusen proposed the borrowing a million from the Porte. The vizier replied coldly, that his master knew how to give, when he thought proper; but that it was beneath his dignity to lend: that the king should be furnished with abundance of every thing necessary for his journey, in a manner worthy of the person that sent him back; and that the Porte, perhaps, might even make him a present in gold bullion, but that that was not to be looked on as a certain thing.

At last, on the 1st of October, 1714, the king of Sweden set out on his journey from Turkey. A capigi basha, with six chiaoux, came to attend him from the castle of Demirtash, where that prince had resided for some days past: he presented him, in the name of the grand seignior, with a large tent of scarlet embroidered with gold, a sabre, with the handle set with jewels, and eight beautiful Arabian horses, with fine saddles, and stirrups of massy gold. It is not beneath the dignity of history to observe, that the Arabian groom, who had had the care of the horses, gave the king an account of their genealogy; a custom which hath been long established among these people; who seem to pay more attention to the nobility of their horses, than to that of their men; which is not perhaps so unreasonable, as these animals, unless the breed is crossed, are never known to degenerate.

Sixty waggons loaded with all sorts of provision, and three hundred horse, comprized the convoy. The capigi basha understanding that several Turks had lent money to the king of Sweden's attendants at an immoderate interest, told his majesty, that usury being
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contrary to the Mahometan law, he would advise him to liquidate all these debts, and to order his resident, whom he should leave at Constantinople, to pay no more than the capital. "No," said the king, "if any of my domestics have given bills for an hundred crowns, I will pay them, though they should not even have received ten."

He made a proposal to his creditors to follow him, with an assurance that he would not only pay their debts, but likewise defray their expences. Several of them went to Sweden; and Grothusen was commissioned to see them paid.

The Turks, in order to shew the greater deference to their royal guest, made him travel by very short stages; but this respectful motion was ill-suited to the impatient spirit of the king. During the journey, he got up at three in the morning, according to his usual custom. As soon as he was dressed, he went himself and awakened the capigi and chiaoux, and began to march in the dark. The Turkish gravity was deranged by this new method of travelling; but Charles took a pleasure in seeing them embarrassed, and said, it was some little revenge for the affair of Bender.

About the time that Charles reached the frontiers of Turkey, Stanislaus was leaving them by a different road, and going into Germany, with a view of retiring into the dutchy of Deux-Ponts, a province bordering on the palatinate of Alsace and the Rhine, and which has belonged to the kings of Sweden ever since Charles X. the successor of Christina, had united it to the crown. Charles assigned to Stanislaus the revenue of this dutchy, estimated at about seventy thousand crowns. Such was the issue of so many projects, wars and expectations. Stanislaus could and would have made an advantageous treaty with Augustus; but the inflexible obstinacy of Charles made him lose his lands and real possessions in Poland, to preserve the title of king.

This prince remained in the dutchy of Deux-Ponts till the death of Charles XII. when that province re-

turning to a prince of the Palatine family, he chose his retreat in Wissemburg in Alsace, belonging to the French. Mr. Sum, envoy to Augustus, making a complaint of this to the duke of Orleans, regent of France, the duke returned him an answer, in these remarkable words: "Sir, tell your master, that "France has ever been an asylum to kings in distress."

The king of Sweden being arrived on the confines of Germany, he was given to understand, that the emperor had given orders to receive him in every part of his dominions with a becoming magnificence. The towns and villages, through which the quarter-masters had previously fixed his route, had made great preparations for receiving him; all the people waited with impatience to see this extraordinary man pass by, whose victories and misfortunes, whose most trifling actions, and even his keeping his bed, had made so great a noise in Europe and Asia. But Charles had no desire to bear the fatigue of so much pomp, or to exhibit as a spectacle the prisoner of Bender; he had even resolved never to re-enter Stockholm, until he should have repaired his losses by a change of fortune.

When he arrived at Targowitz, on the frontiers of Transilvania, after he had took leave of his Turkish convoy, he assembled his attendants in a barn, and told them not to give themselves any concern about him, but to proceed with all possible expedition to Stralsund in Pomerania, on the coast of the Baltic sea, about three hundred leagues from the place they then were.

He took nobody with him except two officers, Rosen and Doring, and taking a chearful leave of the rest of his attendants, left them filled with fear, sorrow, and astonishment. To disguise himself he put on a black wig, as he always wore his own hair; a gold laced hat, a grey coat, and blue cloak, and taking the name of a German officer, rode post with his two fellow-travellers.

He avoided in his way as much as possible the territories of either his declared or secret enemies, taking
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the road through Hungary, Moravia, Bavaria, Austria, Wirtemberg, the Palatinate, Westphalia and Mecklenburg; by which means he almost made the tour of Germany, and lengthened his journey by one half. Having rode the whole first day, without intermission, young During, who was not so much inured to these excessive fatigues, fainted as he was dismounting. The king, who was determined not to stop a moment on the road, asked During, as soon as he came to himself, how much money he had. Upon During's replying he had about a thousand crowns in gold; "Give me half," said the king, "I see you are not in a state to follow me; I will, therefore, finish the journey by myself." During begged he would permit him to repose himself but for three hours, assuring him that by that time he should be able to remount his horse and attend his majesty, and conjured him to think of the dangers to which he was going to expose himself. The king, inexorable, made him give him five hundred crowns, and called for horses. During, alarmed at this resolution, bethought himself of an innocent stratagem; he took the post-master aside, and, pointing to the king of Sweden, "That gentleman," said he, "is my cousin; we are travelling together upon the same business; he sees that I am ill, and yet will not wait for me, even for three hours: give him, I beseech you, the worst horse in your stable; and let me have a chariot, or post-chaise."

He slipped two ducats into the post-master's hand, who exactly performed his orders: the king had a horse given him that was both lame and restive: such was the equipage with which this monarch set out at ten o'clock at night, amidst darkness, rain, wind and snow. His fellow-traveller, after having slept a few hours, followed him in a chariot drawn by strong horses.

About day-break, at the distance of a few miles, he overtook the king, who not being able to make his horse move on, was travelling on foot to the next stage.

Charles was obliged to get into During's chariot, where he slept upon the straw. Thus they continued their

their journey, by day on horseback, and sleeping by night in a chariot, without making the least stop.

After sixteen days travelling, not without the danger of being taken, more than once, they arrived at last, on the twenty-first of November in the year 1714, at the gates of the town of Stralsund, about one in the morning.

The king called to the centinel, and told him that he was a courier dispatched from Turkey by the king of Sweden, and that he must speak, that moment, with general Ducker, the governor of the place. The centinel answered that it was too late; that the governor was gone to bed; and that he must wait till break of day.

The king replied, that he came upon business of importance, and told them that if they did not instantly go and awaken the governor, they should be punished the next morning. A serjeant, at last, went and called up the governor. Ducker imagined that it might perhaps be one of the king's generals; he therefore caused the gates to be opened, and the courier was introduced into his chamber.

Ducker, half asleep, asked him "what news of the king of Sweden?" The king taking him by the arm, "What," said he, "Ducker, have my most faithful subjects forgot me?" The general immediately recollected the king, though he could scarce believe his eyes; and throwing himself from the bed, embraced his master's knees with tears of joy. The news was in an instant spread through the town. Every one got up; the soldiers surrounded the governor's house. The streets were crowded with people, asking each other, whether it was true that the king was come. Every window was illuminated, wine ran through the streets, amidst the blaze of a thousand flambeaux, and the discharges of the artillery.

In the mean time the king was put to bed, whither he had not been for above sixteen days: his boots were obliged to be cut from his legs, they being so much swollen by his extreme fatigue. As he had neither
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linen nor clothes, they furnished him a wardrobe, as well as the town could afford, with all expedition. When he had slept a few hours, he arose and went directly to review his troops, and visit his fortifications. The same day he dispatched orders into all parts for renewing the war against his enemies with greater vigour than ever. These particulars, so conformable to the extraordinary character of Charles XII. were, after having been communicated to me by M. Fabricius, confirmed by count Croissy, ambassador to the king of Sweden.

Europe was now in a situation far different from that in which it was when Charles quitted it in 1709.

The war which had so long raged throughout the South, that is to say, in Germany, England, Holland, France, Spain, Portugal and Italy, was now put an end to. This general peace had been brought about by some private intrigues in the English court. The earl of Oxford, an able minister, and lord Bolingbroke, one of the greatest geniuses, and the most eloquent orator of the age, had prevailed over the famous duke of Marlborough, and persuaded the queen to make a peace with Lewis XIV. France, having no longer England for her enemy, soon obliged the other powers to come to an accommodation.

Philip V. the grandson of Lewis XIV. began to reign peaceably over the ruins of the Spanish monarchy. The emperor of Germany, become master of Naples and Flanders, found himself firmly fixed in his vast dominions: and Lewis himself aspired no higher than to finish in peace his long career of glory.

Anne, queen of England, died on the 10th of August, in the year 1714; hated by half the nation, for having given peace to so many kingdoms. Her brother, James Stuart, an unhappy prince, excluded from the throne almost at his birth, not being at that time in England to claim the succession, which new laws would have given him, if his party could have prevailed; George I. elector of Hanover, was unanimously acknowledged king of Great-Britain. The throne

throne devolved to that elector not by right of blood, though descended from a daughter of James, but by virtue of an act of parliament of that nation.

George, called in an advanced age to the government of a people, whose language he did not understand, and to whom he was an entire stranger, regarded himself rather as elector of Hanover than king of England. His whole ambition was to aggrandize his German dominions. He almost always went once a year to visit his hereditary subjects, by whom he was adored. In other respects he took more pleasure in living like a private man, than a sovereign. The pomp of royalty was to him an insupportable burden. He passed his time with a few old courtiers, with whom he lived in great familiarity. He was not the king that made the greatest figure in Europe; but he was one of the wisest princes of the age, and perhaps the only one that experienced on a throne the pleasures of friendship and a private life. Such were the principal monarchs, and such the situation of the South of Europe.

The changes that happened in the North were of another nature. The kings were engaged in war, and united against the king of Sweden.

Augustus had been long restored to the throne of Poland by the assistance of the czar, and with the consent of the emperor of Germany, of Anne of England, and of the states general, who, though all guarantees of the treaty of Altranstund, when Charles XII. could have imposed laws, shrunk from their contract, when they had nothing more to fear from him.

But Augustus did not enjoy a tranquil authority. The republic of Poland no sooner recalled their king, than their apprehensions of arbitrary power began to revive: and the whole nation was in arms to oblige him to conform to the *pacta conventa*, a sacred contract between the king and the people, who seemed to have recalled their sovereign for no other purpose than to declare war against him. At the commencement of these troubles, the name of Stanislaus was not once mentioned: his party seemed to be annihilated; no
other

other remembrance of the king of Sweden remained in Poland than as of a torrent, which, in the violence of its course, had for a time occasioned a change in the face of nature.

Pultowa and the absence of Charles XII. had not only occasioned the fall of Stanislaus, but also of the duke of Holstein, Charles's nephew, who had, not long before, been despoiled of his dominions by the king of Denmark. The king of Sweden had had a sincere regard for the father, and was therefore deeply affected and mortified with the misfortunes of the son; the rather, as having no other object than glory; the fall of those princes whom he had either made or restored, was by him felt as sensibly as the loss of so many provinces.

Every one was at liberty to enrich himself with the ruin of Charles's fortune. Frederic-William, the new king of Prussia, who appeared to have as much inclination for war as his father had had for peace, began by seizing on Stetin and part of Pomerania, as an equivalent for four hundred thousand crowns which he had advanced to the king of Denmark and to the czar.

George, elector of Hanover, now become king of England, had likewise sequestered into his hands the dutchy of Bremen and Verden, - which the king of Denmark had assigned to him as a deposit for sixty thousand pistoles. Thus did they dispose of the spoils of Charles XII. and those who possessed any of his dominions as pledges, became, from their interested views, as dangerous enemies as those who had taken them from him.

As to the czar, he was doubtless the most to be feared: his former defeats, his victories, his very faults, his perseverance to instruct himself, and then to communicate that knowledge to his subjects, together with his incessant labours, had universally obtained him the character of a great man. Riga was already taken; Livonia, Ingria, Carelia, half of Finland, and all the provinces that had been conquered by Charles's ancestors, were now subjected to the Russian yoke.

Peter

Peter Alexowitz, who, twenty years before, had not a single vessel in the Baltic, at this time beheld himself master of that sea, at the head of a fleet of thirty ships of the line.

One of these ships had been built by his own hands; he being the best carpenter, the best admiral, and the best pilot in the North. There was not a difficult passage of the gulph of Bothnia to the ocean, which he had not founded himself: and, having thus joined the labours of a common sailor, to the experience of a philosopher, and the designs of an emperor, he arrived by degrees, and a course of victories, to the rank of admiral, in the same manner as he had become a general in the land service.

While prince Gallitzen, a general formed under his own auspices, and one of those who seconded his enterprizes the best, compleated the conquest of Finland, took the town of Vasa, and beat the Swedes: the emperor put to sea, in order to take the island of Aland, situated in the Baltic, about twelve leagues from Stockholm.

He set out on this expedition in the beginning of July 1714, at the time that his rival Charles XII. was keeping his bed at Demotica. He embarked at Cronstot port, which he had built some years before, about four miles from Petersburg. The new port, the fleet which it contained, the officers, the sailors, were all the work of his own hands; and wherever he turned his eyes, he could behold nothing but what he himself had, in some measure, created.

The Russian fleet, which consisted of thirty ships of the line, eighty gallies, and an hundred half gallies, found itself on the 15th of July, on the coast of Aland. There were twenty thousand soldiers on board: admiral Apraxin was commander in chief; and the Russian emperor served in the capacity of a rear-admiral. On the sixteenth the Swedish fleet, commanded by vice-admiral Erinchild, came up; and, though weaker than them by two-thirds, maintained a fight
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for the space of three hours. The czar attacked Erinchild's ship, and took her after a sharp engagement.

The same victorious day he landed sixteen thousand men on the isle of Aland; and having taken a number of Swedish soldiers, that had not been able to get on board Erinchild's fleet, he carried them off in his own ships. He returned into his harbour of Cronslot with Erinchild's large ship, three others of less size, one frigate and six gallies, which he had made himself master of in this engagement.

Having left Cronslot he arrived at Petersburg, followed by the whole of his victorious fleet, together with the ships taken from the enemy. On his arrival he was saluted by a triple discharge of an hundred and fifty pieces of cannon; after which he made a triumphal entry, which flattered his vanity still more than that at Moscow, because he received the honours of his favourite town, where but ten years before there was not a single hut, and yet at that time he beheld thirty-four thousand five hundred houses; in short, he saw himself not only at the head of a victorious navy, but of the first Russian fleet, that was ever seen in the Baltic sea, and in a country, in which, before his time, the very name of a fleet was unknown.

Almost the same ceremonies were observed at Petersburg, which accompanied the triumphal entry at Moscow. The Swedish vice-admiral was the principal ornament of this new triumph. Peter Alexiowitz appeared as rear-admiral. A Russian nobleman named Romanodowsky, who usually represented the czar on these solemn occasions, was seated on a throne, surrounded by twelve senators. The rear-admiral presented to him a relation of his victory; and was declared vice-admiral, in consideration of his services: a strange ceremony, but at the same time proper in a country, where military subordination was one of the novelties which the czar had introduced.

The emperor of Russia, at last victorious over the Swedes by sea and land, and having assisted in driving them from Poland, began to exercise his authority there

there in his turn. He had made himself a mediator between Augustus and the republic; a glory perhaps, not inferior to that of creating a king. This honour, and indeed all the good fortune of Charles, had fallen to the czar, who certainly made a better use of these advantages than his rival; as his successes were so managed, as to contribute to the interest of his country. If he took a town, the principal artisans in it were sent to Petersburg. The manufactures, the arts and sciences of the provinces which he conquered in Sweden, were transported into Muscovy: his dominions therefore became enriched by his victories; a circumstance that makes him the most excusable of all conquerors.

Sweden, on the contrary, despoiled of almost all her foreign provinces, had neither commerce, money nor credit. Her veteran troops, which were formerly so formidable, had either fallen in battle, or perished with hunger. More than an hundred thousand Swedes were slaves in the vast dominions of the czar; and about the same number had been sold to the Turks and Tartars. The human species appeared lost; but hope returned, as soon as the king arrived at Stralsund.

The impressions of respect and admiration for him were still so strongly implanted in the minds of his subjects, that the youth of the country came in crowds to enlist under his banners, though their native soil wanted hands to cultivate it.

BOOK VIII.

A R G U M E N T.

Charles gives the Princess his Sister in Marriage to the Prince of Hesse:—Is besieged at Stralsund, and escapes to Sweden:—Schemes of Baron de Gortz, his Prime Minister:—Plan of a Reconciliation with the Czar, and of a Descent upon England:—Charles besieges Fredericksball in Norway; is killed:—His Character:—Gortz is beheaded.

THE king, in the midst of these preparations, gave his only surviving sister, Ulrica Eleonora, in marriage to Frederic prince of Hesse Cassel. The queen-dowager, grandmother of Charles XII. and the princess, at that time in the eightieth year of her age, did the honours of the feast, on the fourth of April 1715, in the palace of Stockholm; where she died a little time after.

The marriage was not honoured with the presence of the king; he was still at Stralsund, finishing the fortifications of that important place, and threatened with a siege by the kings of Denmark and Prussia. He made his brother-in-law generalissimo of all his forces in Sweden. This prince had served the states-general in their wars with the French, and was esteemed a good general; a qualification which contributed not a little to procure him the sister of Charles XII. in marriage.

Charles's misfortunes now followed each other, as rapidly as his victories had formerly done. In the month of June 1715, the German troops of the king of England, with those of Denmark, invested the strong town of Wismar; the Danes and Saxons united, formed about thirty-six thousand men, who marched towards Stralsund, to form the siege of that place. The kings of Denmark and Prussia sunk five Swedish ships near to Stralsund. The czar was then in the

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Baltick,

Baltick, with twenty large ships of war, and an hundred and fifty transports, on board of which were thirty thousand men. He menaced a descent upon Sweden; sometimes advancing near to the coast of Helsingburgh, and at others appearing before Stockholm. All Sweden was in arms upon the coasts, every moment expecting an invasion. In the mean time the czar's land forces drove the Swedes from port to port, until they had dispossessed them of all the places they held in Finland, toward the gulph of Bothnia; but the czar carried his conquests no farther.

At the mouth of the Oder, a river that divides Pomerania in two, and, after washing the walls of Stetin, falls into the Baltick sea, is the little isle of Usedom; this place is of great importance on account of its situation, as it commands the Oder both on the right and left; so that the person who is master of this island, is at the same time master of the navigation of the river. The king of Prussia had dislodged the Swedes from this place, and had taken possession of it as well as of Stetin, which he kept sequestered, and all, as he said, *Pour l'amour de la paix*, i. e. "For the love of peace." The Swedes had retaken Usedom, in the month of May 1715. They had two forts there; one of which was the fort of Suine, upon a branch of the Oder, that bore the same name; the other, a place of more consequence, was called Pennamender, situated upon another branch of the river. The king of Sweden had but two hundred and fifty Pomeranian soldiers to defend these two forts and the whole island, commanded by an old Swedish officer, named Kuze-Slerp, whose name merits remembrance.

On the fourth of August, the king of Prussia sent fifteen hundred foot and eight hundred dragoons, to make a descent upon the island, and they landed without opposition near the fort of Suine. The Swedish commander abandoned this fort to the enemy, as being the least important; and as he could not safely divide his men, he retired with his little troop to the castle.

castle of Pennamender, resolving to defend it to the last extremity.

There was therefore a necessity of besieging it in form. A train of artillery was embarked at Stetin for this effect, and the Prussian troops were reinforced with a thousand foot and four hundred horse. On the eighteenth the trenches were opened in two places, and the fort was briskly battered with cannon and mortars. During the siege, a Swedish soldier, who was charged with a private letter from Charles XII. found means to land on the island, to get into the fort of Pennamender, and to deliver the letter to the commander; it was couched in the following words: "Do not fire till the enemy come to the brink of the fosse; defend the place to the last drop of your blood; I commend you to your good fortune. Charles."

Slerp having read the note, resolved to obey, and to lay down his life, as he was ordered, for the service of his master. On the twenty-second, at the break of day, the enemy began the assault: the besieged having kept in their fire till they saw the besiegers on the brink of the fosse, killed a great number of them; but the ditch was full, the breach enlarged, and the assailants too numerous. They entered the castle at two different places at one time. The commander thought of nothing but of selling his life as dear as possible, and obeying his master's letters. He abandoned the breaches through which the enemy entered; intrenched his little company, who had all the courage and fidelity to follow him behind a bastion, and posted them in such a manner that they could not be surrounded. The enemy came up to him, astonished that he did not ask for quarter. He fought for a whole hour; and after having lost the half of his men, was at last killed, together with his lieutenant and major. After this, the surviving few, amounting to an hundred soldiers and one officer, begged their lives, and were made prisoners at war. They found Charles's letter in the commander's pocket, and carried it to the king of Prussia.

• At the time that Charles lost Usedom and the neighbouring isles, which were soon after taken; while Wismar was ready to surrender, and Sweden, for want of a fleet, was daily threatened with an invasion, he himself was in Stralsund, besieged by an army of thirty-six thousand men.

Stralsund, a town become famous throughout Europe for the siege which the king of Sweden sustained in it, is the strongest place in Pomerania. It is situated between the Baltick sea and the lake of Franken, near the streights of Gella; having no entrance to it by land, except by a narrow causeway, defended by a citadel, and by fortifications which were imagined inaccessible. It had a garrison of about nine thousand men, and what was beyond all, the king of Sweden himself. The kings of Denmark and Prussia undertook the siege of this place, with an army of six and thirty thousand men, composed of Prussians, Danes and Saxons.

The honour of besieging Charles XII. was so powerful a motive, that they soon surmounted every obstacle, and opened the trenches in the night between the nineteenth and twentieth of October, 1715. The king of Sweden, at the beginning of the siege, said, that he could not comprehend, how a place well fortified, and provided with a sufficient garrison, could be taken. Not but that in the course of his past victories, he had taken several places himself, but hardly ever by a regular siege: the terror of his arms had always prevailed: besides, he never judged of other people by himself, but always entertained too low an opinion of his enemies. The besiegers carried on their works with vigour and resolution, and were seconded by a very singular accident.

It is well known, that the Baltick sea neither ebbs nor flows. The fortifications which covered the town, and which were defended on the west by an impassable morass, and by the sea on the east, seemed to be secure from every assault. Nobody had ever noticed, that when the west wind blew with any violence, the waves

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of the Baltick were driven back in such a manner, as to leave but three feet depth of water under the fortifications, which had always been supposed to be washed by a branch of the sea, so deep as to be impassable. A soldier having fallen from the top of the fortifications into the sea, was astonished to find a bottom; he imagined that this discovery might make his fortune, and accordingly deserted, and went to the quarters of count Wackerbath, the Saxon general, to inform him that the sea was fordable, and that he might penetrate without much difficulty to the Swedish fortifications. The king of Prussia was not slow in profiting by this piece of intelligence.

In the middle of the next night, the west wind still continuing, lieutenant-colonel Koppen entered the water, followed by eighteen hundred men: two thousand advanced at the same time upon the causeway that led to the fort; all the Prussian artillery fired, and the Danes and Prussians gave an alarm on the other side.

The Swedes imagined themselves secure, in repulsing the two thousand men whom they saw advancing with so much apparent rashness upon the causeway; but all of a sudden, Koppen, with his eighteen hundred men entered the fort, on the side towards the sea. The Swedes, surrounded and surprized, could make no resistance, and the post was carried after a terrible carnage. Some of the Swedes fled towards the town; the besiegers pursued them thither, and entered pell-mell along with the fugitives: two officers and four Saxon soldiers were already on the draw-bridge, which the Swedes had just time to raise; so that the men were taken, and the town saved for that time.

The enemy found in the fort twenty-four pieces of cannon, which they immediately turned against Stralsund. The siege was pushed with such vigour and resolution, as this success could not fail to inspire. The town was cannonaded and bombarded almost without intermission.

Opposite to Stralsund, in the Baltick sea, is the isle of Rugen, which serves as a bulwark to that place,

and into which the garrison and citizens might have retired, had they had boats to have transported them thither. This island was of great consequence to Charles: he saw very clearly, that if the enemy were once masters of it, he should be immediately besieged both by sea and land; and, perhaps, reduced to so great extremities, that he must either bury himself in the ruins of Stralsund, or become a prisoner to those very enemies whom he had so long despised, and upon whom he had imposed the most severe laws. But notwithstanding all this, the unhappy situation of his affairs had not permitted him to place a sufficient garrison in Rugen, in which there were no more than two thousand men.

His enemies had been employed for three months before, in making all the necessary preparations for a descent upon this island, which at first gave them much trouble; at last, having finished a number of boats, the prince of Anhalt, with the assistance of favourable weather, landed twelve thousand men upon Rugen, on the 15th of November. The king, who seemed to be present every where, was at that time in the island; he had just before joined his two thousand men, who were intrenched near a small port, three leagues from the place where the enemy had landed: he immediately put himself at the head of this little troop, and, observing the most profound silence, advanced in the middle of the night towards the enemy. The prince of Anhalt had already entrenched his forces, with a precaution which appeared unnecessary. The officers commanding under him had no idea of being attacked the very first night, as they imagined Charles to be at Stralsund; but the prince of Anhalt, who well knew what incredible things Charles was capable of, had caused a deep fosse to be sunk, fenced with chevaux de frise; and took all his measures with as much circumspection, as if he had had a superior army to contend with.

At two in the morning Charles came up with his enemies, without making the least noise; his soldiers
saying

saying to each other, "Let us pull up the chevaux de frise;" the words were overheard by the sentinels, the alarm was immediately given through the camp, and the enemy were instantly under arms. The king having taken up the chevaux de frise, perceived a deep fosse before him. "Ah!" said he, "is it possible? I did not expect this." However, this surprize did not discourage him. He knew not the number of troops landed; the enemy also, on their side, were ignorant of the small number of his. The darkness of the night seemed favourable to Charles; he took his resolution in a moment, and jumped into the ditch, accompanied by the bravest of his men, and instantly followed by the rest; the chevaux de frise, which were plucked up, the levelled earth, the trunks and branches of such trees as they could find, and the carcases of the soldiers that were killed by random shot, served for fascines. The king, the generals, and the bravest of the officers and soldiers, mounted upon the shoulders of others, as in an assault. The fight began in the enemy's camp. The impetuosity of the Swedes soon threw the Danes and Prussians into confusion; but the numbers were too unequal; the Swedes were repulsed, after fighting for a quarter of an hour, and were obliged to repass the fosse. The prince of Anhalt pursued them into the plain, but knew not that it was Charles XII. that fled before him. That unfortunate king rallied his troops in the open field, and the battle was renewed with equal fury on both sides. Grothusen, the king's favourite, and general Dardoff, fell dead at his feet. In the heat of the battle, Charles passed over the body of the latter, who was still breathing. During, who had accompanied him in his journey from Turkey to Stralsund, was killed before his face.

In the midst of the fury, a Danish lieutenant, whose name I have never been able to learn, recognized the king; and seizing his sword with one hand, and with the other dragging him by the hair, "Surrender yourself," says he, "or I this instant kill you." Charles having

having a pistol at his belt, drew it, and fired it at the officer, who died of the wound the next morning. The name of king Charles, which the Dane had pronounced, immediately drew a crowd of the enemy together. The king was surrounded, and received a musket-shot below his left breast: this wound, which he called a contusion, was two fingers deep. The king was on foot, and in danger of either being killed or taken prisoner. Count Poniatowky was fighting, at this time, near his majesty's person. He had saved his life at Pultowa, and had now the good fortune to save it once more in the battle of Rugen, by putting him on his horse.

The Swedes retired to a part of the island called Altesferra, where there was a fort, of which they were still masters. From thence the king re-passed over to Stralsund, obliged to abandon his brave troops, who had so well seconded him in this enterprize, and who, in two days after, were all made prisoners of war.

Among the prisoners was that unhappy French regiment, composed of the shattered remains of the battle of Hochstet, which had entered into the service of Augustus, and afterwards into that of the king of Sweden. The greatest part of the soldiers were now incorporated into a new regiment, commanded by the prince of Anhalt's son, who was their fourth master.

The commander of this wandering regiment in the isle of Rugen, was the same count de Villelongue, who had so generously exposed his life at Adrianople, in the service of Charles. He was taken prisoner with his troop, and in the end but poorly recompensed for all his services, labours, and sufferings.

The king, after all these prodigies of valour, which served only to weaken his forces, shut up, as he was, in Stralsund, which was near being stormed, behaved in much the same manner as he had done at Bender. He was shaken by nothing; he employed the day in making ditches and entrenchments behind the walls, and the night he devoted to the sallying out upon the enemy:

my: in the mean time Stralsund was battered in breach: the bombs fell as thick as hail upon the houses, and half the town was reduced to ashes: the citizens, however, so far from complaining, were filled with the highest veneration for their royal master, whose vigilance, temperance, and courage astonished them; they were all become soldiers under him; they accompanied him in all his sallies, and served him in the place of a second garrison.

One day, as the king was dictating some letters to his secretary, to be sent to Sweden, a bomb fell on the house, pierced the roof, and burst near the apartment in which he was. One half of the floor was shattered to pieces; but the closet where the king was dictating, being partly surrounded by a thick wall, suffered no damage; and, by an astonishing piece of fortune, none of the splinters that flew about in the air, entered at the closet door, which happened to be open. The report of the bomb, and the noise it occasioned in the house, which seemed ready to tumble, made the secretary drop his pen. "What is the reason," said the king with a tranquil air, "that you do not continue writing?" The secretary could only say, "Ah, Sire, the bomb." "Well," replied the king, "what has the bomb to do with the letter I am dictating to you? Go on."

There was, at this time, an ambassador of France shut up with the king of Sweden in Stralsund. It was one Colbert, count de Croissy, a lieutenant-general in the French army, brother to the marquis de Torcy, the celebrated minister of state, and a relation of the famous Colbert, whose name ought ever to be remembered in France. To send a man into the trenches, or on an embassy to Charles XII. was pretty nigh the same thing. The king would talk with Croissy for whole hours together, in the most exposed places, while the soldiers were falling on every side of them by the fire of the cannon and bombs, without appearing in the least sensible of the risk he run; and the ambassador not chusing to give his majesty so much

much as a hint, that there were more proper places to talk of business. This minister did every thing he was able, before the siege began, to effect an accommodation between the kings of Sweden and Prussia; but the demands of the latter were too high, and Charles would make no concessions. Count de Croissy derived no other satisfaction from his embassy, than the pleasure of being intimately acquainted with that singular man. He often lay by his majesty upon the same cloak, and had, by partaking of all his dangers and fatigues, acquired a right of talking to him with freedom. Charles encouraged this boldness in those he loved; and would sometimes say to the count de Croissy, *Veni, maledicamus de rege*; i. e. "Come, now let us make free with the character of the king." This account I had from the ambassador himself.

Croissy continued in the town till the 13th of November, when having obtained from the enemy a passport for himself and his baggage, he took his leave of the king, who still remained amidst the ruins of Stralsund, with a garrison diminished by one half, and resolved to stand an assault.

In short, two days after, an assault was actually made upon the horn-work. The enemy twice took it, and twice were driven back. The king fought, the whole time, amidst his grenadiers; but at last numbers prevailed, and the besiegers remained masters of the place. Charles continued in the town two days after this, expecting every moment a general assault. On the 21st he staid till midnight upon a little ravelin, that was entirely demolished by the bombs and cannon; the next day the principal officers conjured him not to stay in a place which he could no longer defend; but to retreat was now become as dangerous as to stay. The Baltic sea was covered with Russian and Danish ships, and there were no vessels in the harbour of Stralsund but one small bark with sails and oars. The great danger which rendered this retreat so glorious, determined Charles to attempt it. He embarked in the night, on the 20th of December,

1715, accompanied by ten persons only. They were obliged to break the ice, with which the water of the port was covered; a task which they were several hours about, before the bark could sail freely. The enemy's admirals had positive orders not to suffer Charles to escape from Stralsund, but to take him, dead or alive. Happily they were under the wind, and were not able to get to him; but he run a still greater risk in passing by a place called la Babette, in the isle of Rugen, where the Danes had erected a battery of twelve cannon, from which they fired upon him. The mariners spread every sail, and plied every oar, to get clear of the enemy; but notwithstanding, a cannon ball killed two men by the king's side, and another shattered the mast of the bark. In the midst of these dangers the king escaped unhurt, and at last came up with two of his own ships, that were cruising in the Baltic. The next day Stralsund surrendered, and the garrison made prisoners of war. Charles landed at Isled in Scania, from which place he repaired to Carelscoön, in a condition very different from what he was in, when, about fifteen years before, he set sail from that harbour in a ship of a hundred and twenty guns, to give laws to the north.

Being so near his capital, it was expected that, after such a long absence, he would visit that place; but his design was never to enter it again, till he had obtained some signal victory. Besides, he could not bear the thoughts of revisiting a people by whom he was beloved, and whom, nevertheless, he was obliged to oppress, in order to enable him to defend himself against his enemies. He only wanted to see his sister, with whom he appointed an interview on the banks of the lake Weter, in Ostrogothia, whither he rode post, attended only by a single domestic, and returned, after having spent a day with her.

From Carelscoön, where he sojourned during the winter, he issued out orders for raising men throughout his whole kingdom. He thought that his subjects were born only to follow him to the field of battle, and had accustomed them to believe the same. They enlisted many at the age of fifteen; and in several vil-
lages

lages there were none left but old men, women, and children, and in many places women only were seen ploughing the land.

It was still more difficult to procure a fleet. To supply the want of which, commissions were granted to the owners of privateers, who, upon obtaining certain privileges unreasonable in themselves, and destructive to the country, equipped a few ships; and these poor efforts were the last that the declining state of Sweden was now capable of making. To defray the expences of these preparations, he was obliged to take the property of the people. Accordingly, every kind of extortion was practised, under the name of taxes and duties. Strict search was made in every house, and one half of the provisions found in them was carried to the king's magazines: all the iron in the kingdom was bought up for his use, which government paid for in paper, and sold out again for ready money. A tax was laid on every one who wore any mixture of silk in their cloaths, or wore either perukes or gilt swords. A very heavy tax was also laid on chimnies. The people, oppressed with such a load of taxes, would have revolted under any other king; but the poorest peasant in Sweden knew, that his master led a life still more hard and frugal than himself: so that every one submitted without murmuring to those hardships which the king was the first to suffer.

The public danger served to make them forget their private misfortunes. They expected every moment to see their country invaded by the Russians, the Danes, the Prussians, the Saxons, and even by the English; and the idea of this invasion had taken such hold of their minds, that those who had money or valuable effects, buried them in the earth.

In short, an English fleet had already appeared in the Baltick, though its particular destination was not known; and the czar had given his word to the king of Denmark, that the Russians should join the Danes, in the spring of 1716, in order to make a descent upon Sweden.

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But how great was the astonishment of all Europe, who still kept a watchful eye upon the fortune of Charles, when, instead of defending his own country, which was threatened by so many princes, they saw him in the month of March 1716, passing over into Norway, with twenty thousand men.

From the time of Hannibal, Europe had never seen any general, who, unable to defend himself against his enemies at home, had boldly carried the war into the heart of their dominions. The prince of Hesse, his brother-in-law, accompanied him in this expedition.

There is no travelling from Sweden to Norway, but through the most dangerous bye-ways; and when these are past, one is continually meeting with so many lakes of water formed by the sea amongst the rocks, that there is a necessity for making bridges every day. A small number of Danes might have stopped the progress of the whole Swedish army; but this sudden invasion they had not foreseen. Europe was still more astonished, that the czar remained quiet in the midst of all these mighty events, and that he did not make a descent upon Sweden, as had formerly been stipulated between him and his allies.

This inactivity was owing to one of the greatest, and at the same time most difficult schemes that ever was formed by human imagination.

The baron de Gortz, a native of Franconia, and an immediate baron of the empire, having rendered several important offices to the king of Sweden, during that monarch's stay at Bender, he was now become his favourite and first minister.

Never was there a man so bold, and at the same time so artful; so full of expedients amidst misfortunes; so unbounded in his designs, or so active in the prosecution of them: no project was too great for him, nor did any expedient deter him: he was equally prodigal of presents and promises, of oaths, of truth, and of falsehood.

From Sweden he went to France, England, and Holland, to examine those secret springs which he afterwards

terwards meant to put in motion. He was capable of disturbing all Europe; and indeed, had such a plan in his mind. What his master was at the head of an army, he was in the cabinet; by which means he had acquired an ascendancy over Charles, that no minister had had before him.

That king, who at twenty years of age had prescribed orders to count Piper, now received instructions from baron de Gortz; so much the more, submitting to the direction of that minister, as his misfortunes obliged him to listen to the advice of others, and as he never gave him any but such as was conformable to his courage. Gortz remarked, that of all the princes united against Sweden, George, elector of Hanover, and king of England, was the one against whom Charles was most highly incensed; because he was the only one that he had never offended; and because George had entered into the quarrel under the pretext of compromising matters, but in reality with a view of preserving Bremen and Verden; to which he seemed to have no other right, than that of having bought them for a trifle from the king of Denmark; to whom, after all, they did not belong.

He also discovered, that the czar was secretly dissatisfied with his allies, who had all conspired to hinder him from acquiring any possessions in Germany, where that monarch, already become too formidable, wanted only to obtain a footing. Wismar, the only town that still remained to the Swedes on the frontiers of Germany, on the 14th of February, 1716, surrendered to the Danes and Prussians, who would not even suffer the Russian troops that were then in Mecklenburgh, to be present at the siege. The like jealousies for two years together, had alienated the czar's mind from the common cause, and perhaps prevented the ruin of Sweden. There are many instances of several states in alliance being conquered by a single power, but scarcely any of a great empire being totally subdued by several allies. For if their united forces happen, for a time,

time, to humble it, their divisions soon give it an opportunity to retrieve its former grandeur.

The czar had had it in his power from the year 1714, to make a descent upon Sweden; but whether it was, that he could not perfectly agree with the kings of Poland, England, Denmark and Prussia, allies justly jealous of his growing power; or, that he did not think his troops, as yet, sufficiently disciplined, to attack, in their own territories, a people, whose very peasants had conquered the flower of the Danish forces, he still put off the execution of this enterprize.

But what had chiefly stopped the progress of his designs was the want of money. The czar was one of the most powerful monarchs in the universe, but was far from being one of the richest; his revenues, at that time, not exceeding twenty-four million of livres: he had indeed discovered some mines of gold, silver, copper, and iron; but the profits arising from these were still uncertain, and the working of them very expensive. He had likewise established an extensive commerce; but that in its infancy rather filled him with the hopes of what it might one day prove, than was really productive of any present advantage: nor did the provinces which he had lately conquered increase his revenues, in the same proportion as they augmented his power and glory. It required a long time to heal the wounds of Livonia, a country extremely fertile, but desolated by fire, sword and distemper, and by a war of fifteen years continuance, destitute of inhabitants, and as yet chargeable to the conqueror. The large fleets he maintained, and the new enterprizes which he was daily undertaking, contributed also to decrease his finances. He had even been reduced to the miserable resource of raising the value of money, a remedy that can never cure the evils of state, and must be particularly prejudicial to a country, whose exports fall short of their imports.

This was a part of the foundation upon which de Gortz had built his scheme of a revolution. He ventured to propose to the king of Sweden, the purchasing
a peace

a peace from the Russian emperor at any price whatsoever; intimating to him, that the czar was irritated against the kings of Poland and England; and remarking, at the same time, that were the forces of Peter Alexiowitz and Charles XII. united, they would strike terror throughout Europe.

There was no other way to accomplish this peace with the czar, than that of yielding up a great part of the provinces which lay to the East and North of the Baltick sea; but then he would represent to the king, that in giving up these provinces, which the czar had already possessed himself of, and which it was not in his power to retake; he would have the glory of at once replacing Stanislaus on the throne of Poland, sitting the son of James II. on that of England, and of re-establishing the duke of Holstein in his dominions.

Charles, elated with these great ideas, took no time to consider of this scheme, but immediately gave his minister a *carte blanche*. Gortz accordingly set out from Sweden, possessed with a power which authorized him to transact his intentions without restriction, and constituting him plenipotentiary to any prince with whom he might judge it necessary to negotiate. The first thing he did was to sound the court of Moscow, which he did through the means of a Scotchman, named Areskins, first physician to the czar; a man entirely devoted to the interest of the pretender; as was indeed almost every Scotchman, who did not immediately subsist on the favours of the court of London.

The physician represented to prince Menzikoff the importance and glory of such a project, with all the vivacity of a man, who was himself interested in the cause. Prince Menzikoff relished the overtures, and the czar approved them. Instead therefore of making a descent on Sweden, as he had agreed on with his allies, he wintered his troops in Mecklenburgh, and went thither himself, under pretence of settling some disputes which were then taking root between the duke of Mecklenburgh and the nobility of that country; but in fact, to pursue his favourite design of obtaining
a prin-

a principality in Germany, and to persuade the duke of Mecklenburgh to sell him his sovereignty.

The allies were much irritated at this proceeding; they did not wish to have so formidable a neighbour, who, if he but once got footing in Germany, it was to be feared would one day or other be elected emperor, and oppress the petty sovereigns. But the more they were enraged, the faster did this great project of baron de Gortz advance towards success. He negotiated, notwithstanding, with every one of the confederate princes, for the better carrying on his secret intrigues; and the czar continued amusing them all with various hopes. In the mean time Charles was in Norway, with his brother-in-law the prince of Hesse, at the head of twenty thousand men; this province was defended only by eleven thousand men, which the king and the prince of Hesse had put to the sword.

Charles advanced as far as Christiana, the capital of this kingdom; and in this part of the globe fortune again began to smile on him: but he never took sufficient precautions to provide for the subsistence of his troops. A Danish fleet and army were approaching to the defence of Norway; and Charles being in want of provisions, was obliged to return to Sweden, there to wait the issue of his minister's mighty projects.

This scheme required at once inviolable secrecy, and immense preparations, two things almost incompatible. Gortz even ransacked the Asiatic seas for assistance, which, however odious in appearance, would nevertheless have been extremely proper for making a descent upon Scotland, and for furnishing Sweden with money, ships, and soldiers.

The pirates of every nation, and particularly those of England, having entered into a mutual association, had long infested the seas of Europe and America; but having been pursued in every part without the least quarter, they had lately retired to the coasts of Madagascar, a large island in the east of Africa. These men were all of them desperadoes, and most of them famous for actions, which wanted nothing but justice

to render them truly heroic. They had for some time sought a prince, who would receive them under his protection; but the laws of nations shut all the harbours in the world against them.

As soon as they were informed that Charles was returned to Sweden, they began to hope that that prince, passionately fond of war, obliged at present to be engaged in it, and that being in want of both ships and men, he would listen to a reasonable accommodation: they accordingly sent a deputy to Europe, on board of a Dutch vessel, to make a proposal to baron de Gortz, to receive them into the port of Gottenburg, whither they would immediately repair, with sixty ships laden with riches.

The baron prevailed upon the king to agree to this proposition; and the year following two Swedish gentlemen, one named Cromstrom, and the other Mendal, were sent to finish the negotiation with the corsairs of Madagascar. But a more honourable and a more powerful support was soon after found in the cardinal Alberoni, a man of an extraordinary genius, who governed Spain long enough for his own glory, but too short a time for the grandeur and happiness of that kingdom.

He entered, with great ardour, into the project of placing the son of James II. on the throne of England. Nevertheless, as he was just entered into the ministry, and had the affairs of Spain to manage before he could think of throwing other kingdoms into confusion, it was not likely that he would be able for many years to set his hand to this great work; yet, notwithstanding, in less than two years he changed the face of affairs in Spain, recovered to that kingdom her degree of credit with Europe; engaged, as is generally imagined, the Turks to attack the emperor of Germany; and attempted, at the same time, to take away the regency of France from the duke of Orleans, and the crown of Great-Britain from king George the First: so dangerous is even one man, when rendered absolute in a powerful state, and is possessed with courage and greatness of soul.

Gortz

Gortz having thus dispersed through the courts of Muscovy and Spain the first sparks of that flame which he meant to kindle, went secretly to France, and from thence to Holland, where he negotiated with many of the pretender's adherents.

He informed himself more particularly of the force, number, and disposition of the malecontents in England, and also of the money they could furnish, and the troops they could raise. The malecontents asked only the assistance of ten thousand men, and considered a revolution certain with their support.

Count de Gillembourg, the Swedish ambassador in England, being instructed by baron Gortz, had several conferences at London, with the principal malecontents: he encouraged them, and promised them every thing they could wish for; and they, on their parts, went so far as to furnish several considerable sums of money, which Gortz received in Holland. He negotiated also about the purchase of some ships, and bought six in Britain, with all kinds of arms.

He then sent several officers privately into France, and among other the Chevalier de Folard, who having made thirty campaigns in the French armies, without any considerable addition to his fortune, had lately offered his services to the king of Sweden, not so much from any interested views, as from a desire to serve under a king who had so astonishing a reputation. Folard likewise wished to communicate to that prince the new ideas he had of war, he having studied that art all his life as a philosopher; and he has since given to the world his discoveries, in his commentary on Polybius. His ideas were much approved of by Charles, who had made war himself in a manner intirely new, and was never guided by custom in any thing; he resolved therefore, that Folard should be employed in his projected descent on Scotland. That gentleman very faithfully executed the secret orders of baron de Gortz, in France. A great number of French, and a still greater number of Irish officers, engaged in this conspiracy, which was hatching at the same time in England,

land, France and Muscovy, and the branches of which were secretly extended from one end of Europe to the other.

These preparations were nothing to what Gortz intended to do; though it was a great thing to have so prosperously began his designs. The most important point, and without which nothing could succeed, was to bring about a peace between the czar and Charles; to accomplish this, there remained many difficulties to be removed. Baron Osterman, minister of state in Muscovy, refused at first to come into de Gortz's measures; he being as circumspect, as the minister of Charles was enterprizing. The one, slow and regular in his politicks, was for suffering every thing to ripen: while the other, of an impatient spirit, was for reaping the harvest as soon as the seed was sown. Osterman was afraid that the emperor, his master, dazzled with the splendour of this enterprize, would grant the Swedes a too advantageous peace; he therefore delayed the conclusion of it, by a variety of obstacles and procrastinations.

Happily for baron de Gortz, the czar himself arrived at Holland, in the beginning of the year 1717. His design was to go from thence into France; he was desirous of seeing that famous nation, which, for more than an hundred years had been censured, envied, and imitated by all its neighbours: he wanted also to gratify his insatiable curiosity of seeing and learning every thing, and, at the same time, to exercise his politicks.

Gortz had two conferences with the emperor at the Hague; in which he made greater progress than he could have done in six months with the plenipotentiaries. Every thing wore a favourable aspect: his mighty projects seemed covered by an impenetrable secrecy; and he flattered himself, that Europe would only know them by their being carried into execution. In the mean time, he talked of nothing but of peace at the Hague, and openly declared, that he would always consider the king of England as the pacifier of the North; and he even pressed, in appearance, the hold-
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ing of a congress at Brunswick, wherein the interests of Sweden and her enemies might be amicably decided.

The first who discovered these intrigues was the duke of Orleans, regent of France, who had spies in every part of Europe. Men of this denomination, who make a trade of selling the secrets of their friends, and subsist on their informations, and frequently on their calumnies, were so much increased in France under his government, that one half of the nation were become spies on the other. The duke of Orleans, allied to the king of England by personal engagements, discovered to him the plot that was hatching against him.

At the same time the Dutch, who took umbrage at the behaviour of de Gortz, communicated their suspicions to the English minister. Gortz and Gillembourg were prosecuting their schemes with great vigour, when they were both arrested, the one at Davenport, in Guelderland, and the other at London.

As Gillembourg, the Swedish ambassador at England, had violated the law of nations, by conspiring against the prince, to whom he was sent in a public capacity, they made no scruple to violate the same law, by arresting his person. But all the world was astonished to see the States General, through an unheard-of complaisance towards the king of England, imprison baron de Gortz. They even appointed the count de Welderen to examine him. This formality was only an aggravation of their insult, which being rendered useless, turned out to their own confusion. Gortz asked the count de Welderen if he knew him? "Yes," "Sir," replied the Dutchman. "Well, then," replied de Gortz, "if you do know me, you know also that I answer to nothing but what I please." The examination was carried no farther. All the ambassadors, but particularly the marquis de Montelon, the Spanish ambassador, protested against the outrage offered to the persons of Gortz and Gillembourg. The Dutch were without excuse. They had not only violated a most sacred law, by seizing the prime minister

of the king of Sweden, who had formed no plots against them; but they acted directly against the principles of that liberty which had drawn so many foreigners into their country, and which had been the foundation of all their greatness.

With regard to the king of England, he had committed no breach of justice, in imprisoning his enemy. He published in his own vindication, the letters of baron de Gortz and count Gillembourg, which were found among the papers of the latter. The king of Sweden was in Scania, at the time when he received these printed letters, together with the news of his two ministers being imprisoned. He asked, with a smile, if they had printed his letters also? He immediately gave orders for arresting the English resident at Stockholm, with all his family and domesticks. He forbade the Dutch resident the court, and took care to have him strictly watched. Mean while, he neither avowed nor disavowed the proceedings of de Gortz; being too proud to deny a scheme which he had once approved, and too wise to acknowledge a plot which had been stifled almost in its birth, he therefore maintained a disdainful silence towards England and Holland.

The czar took a different course. As he was not named, but only obscurely hinted at in the papers of Gortz and Gillembourg, he wrote a long letter to the king of England, full of compliments on the discovery of the conspiracy, and assuring him of a sincere friendship; king George received his protestations without believing them, though he feigned to place a confidence in them. A conspiracy formed by private men, is annihilated the moment it is discovered; but a conspiracy formed by kings, gains strength by its being known. The czar arrived at Paris in the month of May, in the same year, to view the beauties of art and nature. He, however, did not totally employ himself with visiting the academies, the public libraries, the cabinets of the curious, and the royal palaces; these were not the only ends of his journey: he

he proposed a treaty to the duke of Orleans, regent of France, the acceptance of which would have raised the grandeur of Muscovy. His design was to unite himself with the king of Sweden, who would yield to him several large provinces; to entirely deprive the Danes of the empire of the Baltick sea; to weaken the English by a civil war, and to draw all the trade of the North to Russia. He had even some thoughts of setting up Stanislaus afresh against Augustus, so that the fire being kindled on every side, he might have it in his power either to quench or blow it up, as he should find best conducive to his interest. With this view, he proposed to the regent of France to act as mediator between Sweden and Muscovy, and to make a league offensive and defensive with those two crowns and that of Spain. This treaty, though it appeared so natural and so advantageous to the several nations concerned, and which would have put the balance of power in Europe into their hands, was not accepted by the duke of Orleans. He, at that very time, entered into engagements of a quite contrary nature: he made a league with the emperor of Germany, and with George king of England. The reasons of state had now so altered the views of all the princes of Europe, that the czar was ready to declare against his old ally, Augustus, and to espouse the cause of Charles, his mortal enemy; while France, to oblige the Germans and the English, was going to make war upon the grandson of Lewis XIV. after having so long supported him against these very enemies, at the expence of so much blood and treasure. All that the czar obtained by these indirect measures, was the prevailing upon the regent to interpose his good offices to procure the enlargement of Gortz and Gillembourg. He returned to his own dominions about the end of June, after having shewn the French the uncommon sight of an emperor travelling for instruction; but the generality of that people only took notice of his rude unpolished manners, the result of his bad education;

while the legislator, the hero, and the creator of a new nation, entirely escaped their observation.

What the czar sought for in the duke of Orleans, he soon found in cardinal Alberoni, now become a powerful man in Spain. Alberoni wished for nothing so much as the restoration of the pretender; not only because he was minister of Spain, which had been so ill-treated by the English; but because he was a personal enemy to the duke of Orleans, who was leagued with England against Spain; and lastly, because he was a priest of that church, for the sake of which, the pretender's father had, so imprudently, lost his crown.

The duke of Ormond, as much beloved in England, as the duke of Marlborough was admired, had left his country at the accession of king George; he being at this time at Madrid, he went from thence, vested with full powers by the king of Spain and the pretender, together with one Irnegan, another native of England, a man of fine address, and an enterprizing spirit, to meet the czar in his way to Mittau in Courland. He demanded the princess Anna Petrowna, the czar's daughter, in marriage for the son of * James II. hoping that this alliance would more strongly attach the czar to the interests of that unhappy prince. But this proposal, instead of forwarding, stopped for a time, the progress of the negotiations. Baron de Gortz, among his other projects, had long destined this princess for the duke of Holstein; to whom, in effect, she was soon after married. As soon as he was informed of the duke of Ormond's proposal, he became jealous of its success, and applied every art to set it aside. He, as well as count Gillembourg, was set at liberty in the month of August; the king of Sweden not even deign-

* The cardinal Alberoni confirms the truth of all these particulars in a letter of thanks to the author. M. Norberg, whose ignorance of the affairs of Europe, can only be equalled by the poverty of his genius, alledges, that the duke of Ormond did not quit England upon the accession of George I. but immediately after the death of queen Anne; as if George I. had not been the immediate successor of that queen,

ing to make the least excuse to the king of England, nor to shew the slightest disapprobation of his minister's conduct.

At the same time, the English resident and all his family were released at Stockholm, where they had been treated with much more severity than Gillembourg had been at London.

Gortz having obtained his freedom, behaved like an implacable enemy, having the spirit of revenge joined to the powerful motives by which he had been formerly actuated. He went directly to the czar, and by his artful insinuations, obtained a greater ascendancy over that prince than ever. He assured him, that in less than three months, he would, in conjunction with a single plenipotentiary from Russia, remove every obstacle that retarded the conclusion of a peace with Sweden: and taking a map in his hand which had been drawn by the czar himself, he drew a line from Wibourg, all the way to the Frozen Sea, running along the lake Ladoga, and undertook to persuade his master to give up all the country lying to the eastward of that line, as well as Carelia, Ingria and Livonia: after that he hinted at a proposal of marriage between his czarish majesty's daughter and the duke of Holstein, flattering the czar that the duke might be prevailed upon to yield up his dominions for an equivalent, which acquisition would constitute him a member of the empire, and that either himself or some one of his descendants, might one day obtain the imperial crown. He thus gratified the ambitious views of the Russian monarch, and prevented the pretender from marrying the czarinian princess, while he opened to him a more tempting project in England, and by these means accomplished all his own projects at once.

The czar named the isle of Aland for the holding conferences between Osterman, his minister of state, and baron de Gortz. The duke of Ormond was desired to return to Spain, that the czar might not give too great cause of offence to the English, to whom he had no intention of giving umbrage, till he should be ready
to

to make the projected invasion : Irnegan, the duke's confidant, who was properly instructed, was allowed to stay at Petersburg, where he lived with so much precaution, that he never went abroad but in the night-time, nor ever conversed with any of the czar's minister's, except in the disguise of a peasant or Tartar.

As soon as the duke of Ormond departed, the czar acquainted the king of England with the high compliment he had paid him, in dismissing the greatest man in the pretender's faction ; and baron de Gortz, full of hope, returned to Sweden.

He found his master at the head of thirty thousand regular troops, and all the coasts guarded by the militia. The king wanted nothing but money : the public credit, as well at home as abroad, being entirely exhausted. France, which had furnished him with some supplies, during the last years of Lewis XIV. refused to contribute any more under the regency of the duke of Orleans, who had different views. Spain promised him some remittances ; but was not as yet able to furnish much. De Gortz, at this time, put a scheme into execution, which he formerly tried before his journey to France and Holland : it was, to give to copper the value of silver ; so that a piece of copper, whose intrinsic value was only a halfpenny, should, when stamped with the king's mark, pass for forty pence ; in the same manner as the governors of besieged towns frequently pay the soldiers and citizens in leathern money, in hopes of being one day able to reimburse them in real coin.

This fictitious kind of money, invented by necessity, and rendered current only by its being punctually paid in real specie, is like bills of exchange, the imaginary value of which may easily exceed the solid funds that are in a nation.

These resources are of great use in a free country : they often save a republic, but almost always ruin a monarchy ; for, as the people soon forget their confidence, the minister is obliged to break his word ; the ideal money multiplies apace ; private men bury their real money in the earth ; and the whole machine is destroyed

stroyed by a confusion which is often productive of the most unhappy consequences. This was the fate of the kingdom of Sweden.

Baron de Gortz, at first issued out his new coin with discretion: but, by the rapidity of a motion which he could not restrain, he was in a little time hurried beyond the limits which he had originally prescribed. All kinds of merchandize and provisions having risen to an immoderate price, he was obliged to increase the quantity of the copper coin. But the more it was increased, the less was its value; at last, Sweden, overrun by this false money, set up a general cry against de Gortz. The people who had always beheld their sovereign with veneration, could not find in their hearts to hate him, and therefore made the weight of their resentment fall on a minister, who, as he was a foreigner and chief director of the finances, was doubly certain of the public hate.

A tax which he wanted to lay on the clergy, rendered him totally detestable to the nation: the priests, who too often join their own cause to that of the Supreme Being, publicly pronounced him an atheist, because he demanded their money. Some of the new coin being stamped with the figures of the heathen gods, they took this occasion to call those pieces *les Dieux du Baron de Gortz*, the Gods of Baron de Gortz.

To this public hatred was joined the jealousies of the ministers; the more implacable in their resentment as their power was the less. The king's sister, and the prince her husband, feared him as a man attached from his birth to the duke of Holstein, and who might one day be able to place the crown of Sweden on his head. He had gained no one's affections in the kingdom but Charles's; yet this general aversion served only to ensure to him the friendship of the king, whose opinions were always strengthened by contradictions. He now placed a confidence in the baron bordering on submission; he gave him an absolute power in the interior government of the kingdom; and committed to his care without the least reserve, whatever related to the negoci-

negotiations with the czar, recommending to him above all things, to hasten the conferences that were to be held in the island of Aland.

And, indeed, Gortz had no sooner finished the arrangement of the finances at Stockholm, which demanded his presence, than he sat out to conclude with the czar's minister the grand scheme he had projected.

The following are the preliminary conditions of that alliance, which was wholly to have changed the face of affairs in Europe; they were found among de Gortz's papers after his death.

The czar was to keep the whole of Livonia, and part of Ingria and Carelia, and to restore the rest to Sweden: he was to join Charles XII. to re-establish Stanislaus on the throne of Poland, and was to engage to enter that country with eighty thousand Russians to dethrone Augustus, the very king in whose defence he had waged a war of ten years continuance. He was also to furnish the king of Sweden with a sufficient number of ships to transport ten thousand Swedes to England, and thirty thousand to Germany; the united forces of Peter and Charles were to attack the king of England in his German dominions, particularly in Bremen and Verden; and were likewise to be employed in re-establishing the duke of Holstein; and compelling the king of Prussia to a treaty, by which, he would have been deprived of part of those territories which he had formerly taken.

From this time Charles assumed as lofty airs, as if his victorious troops, reinforced by those of the czar, had already executed every thing they intended. He haughtily demanded of the emperor of Germany, to conclude the treaty of Altranstad. The court of Vienna scarcely deigned to give an answer to the proposal of a prince, from whom she thought she had nothing to fear.

The king of Poland did not possess so much confidence; he saw the clouds gathering on every side. The Polish nobility had formed a confederacy against him; and since his restoration, he had continually been engaged,

gaged, either in wars or treaties with his subjects. The czar, a dangerous mediator, had an hundred gallies near Dantzick, and forty thousand men on the frontiers of Poland. All the North was filled with jealousy and apprehension. Fleming, the most distrustful of men, and himself the most to be distrusted by the neighbouring powers, was the first who suspected the designs of the czar and the king of Sweden in favour of Stanislaus. He determined therefore to have him seized in the dutchy of Deux-Ponts, as James Sobiesky had formerly been in Silesia. A Frenchman, one of those restless and enterprizing spirits who wander into foreign parts to try their fortunes, had lately brought a small number of his countrymen, bold and daring like himself, into the service of the king of Poland. He communicated a project to Fleming, by which he engaged, with thirty French officers, to seize Stanislaus in his own palace, and carry him a prisoner to Dresden. The project was approved. And indeed, such enterprizes were then very common. Some of those fellows who are called bravoës in Italy, had performed similar acts in the Milanese, during the last war between France and Germany. From that time several French refugees in Holland had ventured to penetrate as far as Versailles, in order to carry off the dauphin; and at one time had actually seized the person of the first equerry, almost under the windows of the castle, where Lewis XIV. resided.

This adventurer prepared his men and post-horses, in order to seize and carry off Stanislaus. But the enterprize was discovered, the night before it was to have been carried into execution. Several of them made their escape, and the rest were taken prisoners. They had no right to expect to be treated as prisoners of war, but rather as banditti. Stanislaus, however, instead of punishing them, contented himself with reproaching them with their baseness, and even that he did in terms replete with humanity; he even gave them money to conduct them back to Poland, and by this generous behaviour plainly shewed, that his
rival

rival Augustus had but too much reason to fear him*.

In the mean time Charles sat out on a second expedition to Norway, in the month of October 1718. He had so well taken all his measures, that he hoped in six months time to make himself master of that kingdom. He rather chose to go and conquer rocks amidst ice and snow, in the depth of winter, which kills the animals even in Sweden, where the air is less cold, than to re-take his beautiful provinces in Germany, from the hands of his enemies. These he expected he should soon be able to recover, in consequence of his alliance with the czar; besides, it was a much more tempting object to wrest a kingdom from his victorious foe.

At the mouth of the river Tistendall, near the bay of Denmark, and between the towns of Bahus and Anflo, stands Frederickshall, a place of great strength and importance, and considered as the key of the kingdom. Charles here began the siege, in the month of December. The soldiers, benumbed with cold, could scarcely turn up the earth, which was so much hardened by the frost, that it was almost as difficult to pierce it, as if they had been opening trenches in a rock; yet the Swedes scorned to be disheartened, while they saw their king at their head, who partook of all their fatigues. Charles had never before undergone so many hardships. But his constitution, strengthened by eighteen years of severe labour, was hardened to such a degree, that he slept in the open field in Norway in the midst of winter, either on a truss of straw or a plank, covered only with a cloak, without the least prejudice to his health.

Several of the soldiers on duty dropt down dead; and though the rest were almost frozen to death, yet

* Here M. Norberg accuses the author of want of respect to crowned heads; as if this faithful account contained in it any thing injurious, or as if we were obliged to relate ought but truth of departed kings. Does he imagine, that history should resemble a sermon preached before a sovereign, in which is contained nothing but fulsome compliments.

as they saw their king suffering with them, they did not dare to make the least complaint. Having heard, some time before this expedition, of a certain woman in Scania, called Joan Dotter, who had lived for several months, without taking any other nourishment than water; he, who had studied all his life to support the worst extremes that human nature could bear, resolved to try how long he could fast without fainting. He past five whole days, without either eating or drinking; and on the morning of the sixth, rode two leagues, and then alighted at the tent of the prince of Hesse, his brother-in-law, where he eat heartily, without feeling the least inconvenience from his abstinence of five days, or from the plentiful meal which immediately succeeded *.

With this body of iron, governed by a soul so enterprising and inflexible in every situation he was reduced to, he could not fail to be formidable to all his neighbours.

On the eleventh of December, being St. Andrew's-day, he went at nine in the evening to visit the trenches; and not finding the parallel so far advanced as he expected, appeared very much displeased. Mr. Megret, a French engineer, who conducted the siege, assured him, that the place could be taken in eight days. "We shall see," said the king, and went on with the engineer to survey the works. He stopped at a place where a branch of the trenches formed an angle with the parallel; and kneeling on the inner talus, and resting his elbow on the parapet, continued in that posture for some time, to view the men who were carrying on the trenches by star-light.

The least circumstances become important, when they relate to the death of such a man as Charles XII. I must therefore say, that the whole of the conversation reported by so many writers, to have passed between the king and Megret the engineer, is absolutely

* Norberg pretends, that it was to cure a pain in his breast, that Charles tried this strange abstinence. Confessor Norberg is surely a bad physician.

false. The following account I can affirm, to be the real truth of the matter.

Almost half of the king's body was exposed to a battery of cannon, pointed directly against the angle where he was: there was no one near his person at this time but two Frenchmen; one of whom was M. Siquier, his aid-de-camp, a man of courage and conduct, who had entered into his service in Turkey, and who was particularly attached to the prince of Hesse; and the other was this engineer. The cannon fired upon them, to which the king was the most exposed. At some distance behind them was count Swerin, who commanded the trenches. Count Poffe, a captain of the guards, and his aid-de-camp, named Culber, were receiving orders from him. Siquier and Megret saw the king the moment he fell, which he did upon the parapet, with a deep sigh. They immediately ran to him; but he was already dead. A ball of half a pound weight had struck him on the right temple, and made a hole sufficient to receive three fingers at once: his head was reclined on the parapet; his left eye beat in, and the right one entirely beat out of its socket. Though he expired the moment he received the wound, yet, by a kind of a natural instantaneous motion, he had grasped the hilt of his sword with his hand, and still lay in that attitude. At the sight of this shocking spectacle, Megret, a man of a singular and an indifferent temper, only said, "There, the farce is ended; let us now go to supper." Siquier ran immediately, and informed count Swerin. They all agreed to conceal the news of his death from the soldiers, till they could acquaint the prince of Hesse with it. They wrapt up the body in a grey cloak. Siquier put his hat and wig on the king's head; and in this condition they carried Charles, under the name of one captain Carlsberg, through the midst of his troops, who saw their dead king pass them, without ever dreaming that it was him.

The prince instantly gave orders, that no one should go out of the camp, and that all the passes to Sweden should

should be strictly guarded, that he might have time to take the necessary measures for placing the crown on his wife's head, and the excluding the duke of Holstein, who might lay claim to it.

Thus fell Charles XII. king of Sweden, at the age of thirty-six years and a half, after having experienced the greatest prosperity, and the most cruel adversity; without being either softened by the one, or shaken one moment by the other. Almost all his actions, even those of his private life, bordered on the marvellous. Perhaps he was the only man, most certainly was the only king, that ever lived without failings; he carried all the virtues of the hero to such an excess, as to make them as dangerous as their opposite vices. His resolution, hardened into obstinacy, occasioned his misfortunes in the Ukraine, and detained him five years in Turkey; his liberality, degenerating into profusion, ruined Sweden: his courage, extending even to rashness, was the cause of his death; his strict justice, had frequently approached towards cruelty; and during the last years of his reign, the means he employed to support his authority, differed little from tyranny. His great qualities, any one of which would have been sufficient to have immortalized any other prince, had proved pernicious to his country. He never was the aggressor; yet in taking vengeance he was more implacable than prudent. He was the first man who ever aspired to the title of conqueror, without the least desire of enlarging his own dominions; and whose only end in subduing kingdoms, was to have the pleasure of giving them away. His passion for glory, for war and revenge, prevented him from being a good politician; a quality, without which the world had never before seen any one a conqueror. Before a battle, and after a victory, he was modest and humble; and after a defeat firm and undaunted: as severe to himself as to others, he too little regarded either his own life and labours, or those of his subjects; he was rather an extraordinary, than a great man, and more worthy to be admired than imitated. His life may tend to shew

ucceeding kings, how much a pacific and happy government is preferable to so much glory.

Charles XII. was of a tall stature, with a noble air; he had a fine forehead, large blue eyes full of sweetness, and a handsome nose; but the lower part of his face was disagreeable, and too often disfigured by a frequent laugh, at which time he scarce opened his lips; and as to hair and beard, he hardly had any. A profound silence was observed at his table. Amidst the inflexible obstinacy of his temper, he always retained that timidity which goes by the name of false modesty. He would have been much embarrassed in conversation, because having given up his time entirely to war and action, he had no knowledge of society. Till the time of his residence among the Turks, which furnished him with a good deal of leisure, he had read nothing but Cæsar's Commentaries and the History of Alexander; yet he had wrote some reflections on the art of war, and particularly on his own campaigns from 1700, to 1709. This he owned to the chevalier de Folard, but said, that the manuscript had been lost in the unfortunate battle of Pultowa. Some people would describe Charles as a good mathematician, but the arguments they make use of to prove his knowledge in mathematicks, are by no means conclusive; he wanted to alter the method of counting by tens, and proposed to substitute in its place the number sixty-four, because that number contains both a cube and a square, and being divided by two is reducible to a unit. This only proves, that he delighted in every thing extraordinary and difficult.

With regard to his religion, though the sentiments of a prince ought to have no influence on other men; and though the opinion of a monarch so illiterate as Charles, can be of little consequence in these matters, yet it is necessary to gratify in this, as well as in every other particular, the curiosity of mankind, who are anxious to know whatever relates to this prince. I am informed by the gentleman who furnished me with the greatest part of the materials which compose this history, that Charles was a serious Lutheran till the
year

year 1707. He then happened to see at Leipſick, the famous philoſopher Mr. Leibnitz, a man who thought and ſpoke freely, and had already inſtilled his ſentiments into more princes than one. I cannot believe, as it is reported, that Charles conceived an indifference for Lutheraniſm, from the converſation of this philoſopher, who never had the honour to talk with him above a quarter of an hour; but M. Fabricius, who lived with him in great familiarity, for ſeven years ſucceſſively, told me, that Charles having ſeen, during his reſidence among the Turks, ſuch an infinite variety of religions, it had made him indifferent to his own. La Motraye in his voyages confirms this idea. The ſame too is the opinion of the count de Croiſſy, who hath ſeveral times told me, that of all his old principles, Charles retained none but that of abſolute predeſtination; a doctrine that favoured his courage, and juſtified his temerity. The czar held the ſame opinion with regard to fate and religion; but talked of theſe ſubjects more frequently, as indeed he did of every thing elſe with his favourites, with much familiarity; for he had the advantage over Charles, both in the ſtudy of philoſophy, and the gift of eloquence.

Here I cannot help taking notice of a ſuſpicion, that is too often raiſed at the death of princes, by the malicious, and too readily believed by the credulous, that their death is always owing to poiſon or aſſaſſination. A report had ſpread through Germany, that M. Siquier was the man who killed the king of Sweden. That brave officer was long grieved at this injurious aſperſion; and one day talking to me on the ſubject, uſed the following expreſſion. "I might have killed the king of Sweden, but ſuch was my reſpect for that hero, that had I harboured the thought, I could not have had the courage to carry it into execution."

I know very well, that Siquier himſelf gave occaſion for this heavy accuſation, which, even to this day, is believed by a part of Sweden; he told me, that being ſeized with a violent fever at Stockholm, he cried out that he had killed the king of Sweden; and that in the height of his phrenzy, he even opened the window, and

publickly begged pardon for the regicide. When he was acquainted, in the course of his recovery, with what he had said in his illness, he was ready to die with grief. This anecdote I did not chuse to publish during his life-time. I saw him a little time before his death, and I think I can safely affirm, that, so far from killing Charles XII. he would have suffered a thousand deaths, could he have saved his life. Had he been guilty of such a crime, it must have been to have served some prince, who, no doubt, would have liberally rewarded him; but he died in France so extremely poor, that he even stood in need of his friends assistance. If these reasons are not sufficient, let it be considered, that the ball by which Charles fell, could not come from a pistol; and yet Siquier had no other way to give the fatal blow, than by a pistol concealed under his garments.

After the death of the king, the siege of Frederickshall was raised, and a change in the government instantly took place. The Swedes, who considered the glory of their sovereign rather as a burden than an advantage, lost no time in concluding a peace with their enemies, and suppressing that absolute power which baron de Gortz had so much abused to their ruin. The states unanimously elected the sister of Charles XII. for their queen, and obliged her, by a solemn act, to renounce all hereditary right to the crown, that so she might hold it by the suffrages of the people. She promised by the most sacred oaths never to attempt the re-establishment of arbitrary power; and at last, sacrificing the love of royalty to conjugal affection, yielded the crown to her husband, and engaged the states to elect that prince, who mounted the throne on the same conditions as his royal consort.

The baron de Gortz, immediately after the death of Charles, was arrested and condemned by the senate of Stockholm, to lose his head at the foot of the gallows of the town; an act of revenge, perhaps, rather than of justice; and a cruel insult to the memory of a king, whom Sweden still admires.

END OF THE HISTORY OF CHARLES XII.

H I S T O R Y

OF THE

EMPIRE of RUSSIA,

UNDER

P E T E R the G R E A T.

P A R T I.

HISTORY

OF THE

EMPIRE OF RUSSIA

PETER the GREAT.

PART I.

A CRITICAL and HISTORICAL

P R E F A C E.

S E C T. I.

WH O would have said in the year 1700, that ever a polished and magnificent court, would be established on the extremity of the gulf of Finland; that the inhabitants of Solikam and Casan, and of the banks of the Wolga and Saick, would gain the reputation of being the best disciplined soldiers; and after they had successfully carried their arms into the kingdom of Sweden and the Ottoman empire, they should extend them as far as Germany; that an empire of two thousand leagues in length, almost unknown to us till then, should, in the space of fifty years, be so far improved, as to spread its power throughout Europe; and that, in the year 1759, the first patron of learning in Europe should be a Russian? Whoever had said it, would have been looked upon as the most chimerical of men. Peter the Great having, by himself, planned and brought about this revolution; is, perhaps, of all princes the one, whose actions merit handing down to posterity.

To the historian who has undertaken this work, the court of Petersburg has given every authentic instruction. He writes from the most incontestible authority.

Many spurious Histories of Peter the Great have been obtruded on the public, most of them compiled from newspapers. That, published in four volumes, at Amsterdam, under the name of the *Boyard Nestefurany*, is one of these, too often practised, typographical

cal frauds. Such are the Memoirs of Spain, under the name of *Don Juan de Colmenar*, and the History of Lewis XIV. compiled by the jesuit *La Motte*, from the pretended memorandums of a minister of state, and which is attributed to *La Martinière*; and such also are the Histories of the emperor Charles VI. and of prince Eugene; together with many others.

It is thus the noble art of printing, has been reduced to the level of the lowest article of commerce. A bookseller in Holland, orders a book to be wrote, in the same manner, as a manufacturer gives directions for the manufacturing a piece of cloth; and, unhappily, there are writers, who, from necessity, are obliged to sell their labours to these traders, like workmen, for wages; hence arise the insipid panegyrics, and defamatory libels, with which the public is so over-run: this is one of the most shameful vices of our age.

Never did history stand more in need of authentic vouchers than at this time, when lies and misrepresentations are the common traffic of the day. The author who presents "*The HISTORY of the EMPIRE of RUSSIA under PETER the GREAT*," to the public, is the same historian who, about thirty years ago, wrote the History of Charles XII. from the memorandums of several public men, who had, for a long time, resided with that monarch. The present History is both a confirmation of, and a supplement to, the former.

It is here thought necessary, as well out of respect to the public, as a regard to truth, to produce an undeniable testimony, which will tend to shew what faith may be put in the History of Charles XII.

Not long since the king of Poland and duke of Lorraine, caused that work to be read a second time to him at Commercy; and was so struck with the truth of the narratives of many actions that he himself was witness of, and so disgusted at the confidence with which such actions were misrepresented in several libels and journals; that he resolved to enforce, by the authority of his own testimony, the credit due to the historian; and as it was not proper to write himself, he ordered one of

the

the great officers of his household to draw up the following certificate *.

“ WE, the lieutenant-general of the king’s armies,
 “ grand marshal of the household to his Polish majesty,
 “ and commandant of Toul, of the two Bars, &c. do
 “ hereby certify, that his Polish majesty, after he had
 “ heard read to him, the History of Charles XII.
 “ written by M. De V—— (the last Geneva edition)
 “ that after he had praised the style of that history, and
 “ expressed his admiration of those strokes which cha-
 “ racterize all the writings of that celebrated author,
 “ conferred on us the honour of signifying to you,
 “ that he was ready to give a certificate to M. De
 “ V——, for the better ascertaining the exact truth of
 “ the facts contained in that history. That his said
 “ majesty also added, That M. De V—— had neither
 “ omitted nor misplaced any fact, or interesting circum-
 “ stance; that the whole was true; that every event
 “ was arranged in proper order throughout the history:
 “ and that he had spoken of Poland, and of every in-
 “ cident relative thereto, as if he had been an eye-
 “ witness. We moreover certify, that his said majes-
 “ ty ordered us to write immediately to Mr. De V——
 “ to acquaint him with what we had heard, and to as-
 “ sure him of his majesty’s friendship and esteem.

“ The sincere regard we have for M. De V——’s
 “ reputation, and that concern which every honest
 “ man ought to have, for every thing that ascertains
 “ the truth of facts in histories of our own times,
 “ has induced us to ask permission of his Polish ma-
 “ jesty, to send to M. De V—— a certificate in form,
 “ of all these things, which his majesty has done us the
 “ honour to impart to us. His majesty has not only

* Being obliged to print this certificate, the author has only taken the liberty to suppress some expressions, which might appear to the reader as too honourable, being fully sensible that he owes them wholly to the indulgence and goodness of the prince; he hath confined himself therefore, to such parts of it only, as give testimony in favour of truth.

“ consented

" consented to this, but has been pleased to expressly
 " order us to send it, with his desire that M. De V—
 " would make use of it, on every occasion, as he
 " should judge proper, either by communicating it,
 " having it printed, &c.

" Done at Commercy this 11th day of July, 1759.

" The Count DE TRESSAN."

This certificate sent to the author, caused a surprize, so much the more agreeable, as it came from a king, as well instructed in every circumstance, as was Charles XII. himself; and who, besides, is so well known throughout Europe, both for his love of truth and his benevolence.

A crowd of testimonies as incontestible attend "*The HISTORY of the AGE of LEWIS XIV.*" a work of equal truth and importance; that breathes forth a love for one's country, but in which, that spirit of patriotism takes nothing from truth, nor does it ever tend to exaggerate virtue, or extenuate vice; a work, composed without any views of interest, fear, or expectation, by a man, whose situation in life places him above the necessity of flattering any one.

There are few testimonies cited in "*The HISTORY of the AGE of LEWIS XIV.*" because the transactions of the first years are so well known to the world, that nothing was wanting, but the arranging them in proper order: and as to the events of later date, the author relates them as having been an eye-witness. On the contrary, the vouchers for "*The HISTORY of the EMPIRE of RUSSIA,*" are continually quoted, and the first of these witnesses is PETER THE GREAT himself.

vinco and vinctus etc. S E C T. II.

" We have not been at the trouble in this "*HISTORY of PETER the GREAT,*" to make any useless enquiries about the origin of the many nations, which form the
 immense

immense empire of Russia, from Kamschatka to the Baltic sea. It is a strange attempt to endeavour to prove, from authentic pieces, that the Huns came, formerly, from the north of China into Siberia; and that the Chinese themselves are a colony from Egypt. I know, that several philosophers of great merit, have fancied they beheld a conformity of manners between these people in several particulars; but their surmises have been made a bad use of, by those who have attempted to convert their conjectures into certainty.

Thus, for example, do they at this day attempt to prove, that the Egyptians were the ancestors of the Chinese. An ancient writer has told us, that Sesostris, the Egyptian monarch, went as far as the Ganges; now, if he went as far as the Ganges, he might have gone to China, which is at a considerable distance; thither he also went, and as China was then uninhabited, it is clear that Sesostris peopled that place. The Egyptians, in their festivals, illuminated with candles; the Chinese used lanterns; from thence there was no doubt, but that the Chinese were a colony from Egypt. Nay more, the Egyptians had a great river, the Chinese have one also. Lastly, It is evident that the first kings of China bore the same names as the ancient kings of Egypt: for in the family Yu, there can be traced characters, which, when differently arranged, form the word MENÈS. It is therefore indisputable, that the emperor Yu, took his name from MENÈS, king of Egypt; and the name of the emperor Ki, is evidently that of king ATOES, by changing *k*, into *a*; and *i*, into *toës*.

But if a scholar of Tobolski, or of Pekin, was to read some of our books, he might, more demonstrably, prove that the French are descended from the Trojans. Thus might he argue, and astonish his country with his deep penetration. The most ancient books, he might say, and those held in the greatest estimation, in the little country of the West, called France, are romances; these were written in a pure language, derived from the ancient Romans, who were never known

to advance untruths. Now above twenty of these authentic books assert that FRANCUS, the founder of the monarchy of the Franks, was the son of HECTOR; the name of Hector is still preserved in that nation; and even in this very century, one of their greatest generals was named HECTOR DE VILLARS.

This has been so unanimously received as truth by the neighbouring nations, that ARIOSTO, one of the most learned men of Italy, in his "ROWLAND," affirms, that Charlemagne's knights fought for Hector's helmet. Lastly, there is an unanswerable proof; which is, that the ancient Franks, in order to perpetuate the memory of the Trojans, their ancestors, built a new city in Champagne, named Troye; and these new Trojans, have always preserved so great an aversion to the Greeks, their enemies, that there is not at this day four of the inhabitants who will learn the Greek language. Nay, they have always refused to receive the jesuits among them; and it is probable, because they have been told, that some of them formerly explained Homer in their schools.

It is certain, that such arguments might have great weight in Pekin and Tobolski: but then, another scholar might overturn the whole system, by proving, that the Parisians are descended from the Greeks. For he might say, that the first president of a tribunal of Paris was named *Achille de HARLAI*: that ACHILLE certainly came from ACHILLIS of Greece, and HARLAI from ARISTOS, by changing *istos* into *lai*. The Elysian fields which still exist near one of the gates of the city; and mount Olympus, which is to be seen from Mezieres, are proofs, against which, the most determined incredulity cannot hold out. Besides, every Athenian custom is observed at Paris; they determine on the merits of their tragedies and comedies, with as much decency as the Athenians used to do; they crown their generals of armies on the stage, as they did at Athens; and lastly, marshal de Saxe publicly received a crown from the hands of an actress, which they could not give him in a cathedral. The Parisians have

academies,

academies, after the manner of the Athenians; their church, liturgy, parishes and dioceses, are Greek inventions, and their very names derived from that language; even the Parisian diseases have their appellations from the Greek, *apoplexie*, *phthisie*, *peripneumonie*, *cachexie*, *disenterie*, *jausouie*, &c.

It must be allowed, that this argument would greatly counterpoise the authority of the learned personage, who has just before demonstrated that we were a colony from Troy. And these two opinions might be yet opposed by other profound antiquarians; some might contend that we are Egyptians, urging, that the worship of *Isis*, was established at the village *Iffy*, on the road from Paris to Versailles. Others might attempt to prove that we descended from the Arabians, from the testimony of the words *d'almanac*, *d'alembic*, *d'algebrè*, *d'admiral*. The Chinese and Siberian philosophers would be much embarrassed how to decide in this affair; and at last, perhaps, leave us as unsatisfied as ever.

It appears then, that we must continue in our uncertainty, with regard to the origin of nations. Particular families stand in the same predicament with respect to this, as whole nations; many German barons pretending to be descended in a direct line from Arminius; and a pedigree is composed for MAHOMET, by which he is made a descendant from ABRAHAM and AGAR.

In this manner do they make the family of the ancient czars of Russia come from *Bela*, king of Hungary; this *Bela* from *Attila*; *Attila* from *Turck*, father of the Huns; and *Turck* was the son of Japhet. His brother *Rufs* founded the empire of Russia; and another brother, named *Cameri*, established his empire towards the Wolga.

All these sons of Japhet were, as is well known, the grandsons of Noah; whose three sons went with haste, and settled at the distance of a thousand leagues from each other, for fear they should assist each other, and beget, by having intercourse with their sisters, millions of inhabitants in a few years.

Many

Many grave writers have minutely traced these descents, with as much sagacity as they discovered how the Japanese had peopled Peru. History has for a long time been written in this taste, which is not adopted by the *President DE THOU* and *RAPIN THOYRAS*.

S E C T. III.

If it be necessary to guard against historians who go back to the tower of Babel and the deluge, it is no less so to mistrust those, who particularize every circumstance in modern history; who enter into all the secrets of ministers; and who give an exact relation of every battle, which the generals themselves would have found great trouble in doing.

Near two-hundred grand battles have been fought in Europe, since the commencement of the last century; the greater part of which have been more bloody, than the battles of Arbela and Pharsalia: but, very few of these actions having been attended with great consequences, they are lost to posterity. If there had been but one book in the world, children would know every line by heart, and be able to tell every syllable; so if there had been but one battle, the name of every soldier would be known, and his genealogy handed down to latest posterity: but in such a long and almost continual succession of bloody wars between christian princes, the ancient interests are all changed and destroyed by the new; the battles fought twenty years ago, are effaced by those of our own time; as in Paris, the news of yesterday is smothered by that of to-day, which is destroyed in its turn by that of to-morrow; and almost every event is precipitated one after another into eternal oblivion. This is a reflection which cannot be too strongly attended to; it serves to console us under the misfortunes we suffer, and to shew the instability of human affairs. Nothing tends more to fix the attention of mankind, than the striking revolutions which effect a change in the manners and laws

laws of great states; and it is to this end, that the History of PETER THE GREAT merits being known.

If we have dwelt too long upon some details of battles and the taking of towns, which resemble other battles and other sieges, we ask pardon of the philosophic reader; and have no other excuse, than that little facts leading to great ones, they must necessarily be mentioned in their turn.

We have refuted Norberg in some passages which seemed to us the most important, and have left him to advance things of no consequence with impunity.

S E C T. IV.

WE have made the History of PETER the GREAT as concise, though at the same time as copious as possible. There are several histories of small provinces, little towns, and even of abbies, in several volumes in folio; the memoirs of a certain abbot, who retired for some years into Spain, where he scarce did any thing, are continued through eight volumes: while one has sufficed for the history of ALEXANDER.

There may be still some of those overgrown children, who prefer the fabulous tales of OSIRIS, BACCHUS, HERCULES, and THESEUS, consecrated by antiquity, to the true history of a modern prince; either because the antique names of OSIRIS and HERCULES, are more pleasing to the ear, than that of PETER; or that the overthrowing of giants and lions, affords more pleasure to a weak imagination, than the history of laws and serviceable actions. Notwithstanding which, we must affirm, that the defeat of the giant of Epidaurum, and of the robber SINNIS, and the combat with Crommion's sow, are not equal to the exploits of the conqueror of Charles XII. the founder of Petersburg, and the legislator of a formidable empire.

The ancients taught us reflection, it is true: but it would be very strange, were we to prefer the Scythian ANACHARSIS, because of his antiquity, to the modern Scythian who has civilized so many people. We do

not

not see why the LEGISLATOR of RUSSIA, should yield either to LYCURGUS or SOLON. The laws of the one, which recommend the love of boys to the citizens of Athens, and deny it to slaves; and those of the other, which order young women to box naked in the public market-place; are they preferable to the laws of him, who made both sexes fit for society, who formed military discipline by sea and land, and who opened a passage for the arts into his country.

This History contains the transactions of his public life, which were useful; and not those of his private life, of which we have but few anecdotes, and those are sufficiently known. The secrets of his cabinet, his bed or his table, cannot be well related by a stranger; and indeed, it ought not to be attempted. Could any one have given such memoirs to the world, it must have been a prince Menzikoff, or a general Sheremetow, who were for a long time witnesses of his private actions; they have not done it: and whatever is told us at this day, supported only by public report, does not merit belief. Men of sense had rather behold this great man labouring for five and twenty years for the welfare of a vast empire, than be told, from uncertain accounts, of foibles which he might possess in common with the meanest of his subjects. Suetonius indeed, relates the secret actions of the first emperors of Rome. But did Suetonius live on familiar terms with twelve Cæsars?

S E C T. V.

WHEN only the style, criticism, or private interests of an author are the subject, the petty pamphleteers should be left unnoticed; as it would be rendering one's self almost as ridiculous, if one lost time either in answering, or in reading their productions; but when important facts come in question, it is sometimes necessary that truth should stoop to confound the fallacies of such despicable men; their infamy ought no more to prevent truth from clearing herself, than the ignominy of

a cri-

a criminal among the dregs of the people, ought to stop the administration of justice against him: it was this twofold reason, which obliged us to impose silence on that wicked ignoramus who corrupted the History of the Age of Lewis XIV. by notes as absurd as scandalous; in which he brutally abuses a branch of the house of France, the whole house of Austria, and about an hundred families in Europe; to whose very antichambers he is as much a stranger, as to the facts which he has dared to misrepresent.

It is a great inconvenience attending the noble art of printing, that a writer can so easily publish his lies and calumnies.

Le Vassor, a priest of the oratory, and La Motte, a jesuit, the one a beggar in England, the other in Holland, both wrote history for bread; the former chose Lewis XIII. king of France, for the object of his satire, while the latter, for his subject, took Lewis XIV. Their characters, as apostates, did not tend to gain them much publick belief; yet it is pleasant to see, with what confidence they both announce themselves the depositaries of truth; continually quoting this maxim, "that an historian should boldly relate the whole truth;" to do which, they should have added, it was necessary for him to be first acquainted with it himself.

The very maxim they use sufficiently condemns them: but this maxim in itself merits a strict examination, as it is become the excuse of every satirist.

That every publick, important, or useful truth, ought to be revealed, there is no doubt: but if there should be any disagreeable anecdote of a prince, if in his domestick affairs, he should, like many private persons, have given himself up to some of the weaknesses of human nature, known perhaps only to one or two confidants; who has given you authority to tell the publick, what these confidants ought not to have revealed to any one? I will allow, that you may have found out this secret yourself, but why do you tear off the veil, which every man has a right to use in the recesses of his own house? And what is the reason that you

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publish

publish this scandal? To flatter the curiosity of man, you answer, to please malignity, and to sell my book, which without this, might not have been read. You are then only a satirist, a libeller, and a dealer in slanders, and not an historian.

If this weakness of a publick character; if this secret vice, which you endeavour to make known, has affected publick affairs; if it has occasioned the loss of a battle, deranged the finances of the state, or rendered the people unhappy, you ought then to speak of it; it is your duty to discover the hidden cause which has produced such great events; but, if it has not been productive of any of these events, you ought to be silent.

Let no truth be concealed, is a maxim that may admit of some exceptions. But *Acquaint posterity with nothing but what is worthy of posterity*, is a maxim that will admit of none.

S E C T. VI.

BESIDES the misrepresentation of facts, there is also a misrepresentation in depicting characters. This phrenzy of burdening history with portraits, began in France with romances. It was Clelia who first brought this madness into fashion. Sarrazin, in the infancy of good taste, wrote his History of the conspiracy of Walstein, who was never engaged in such a plot; and does not fail, in giving the portrait of Walstein, whom he never saw, to translate almost every thing that Sallust says of Catiline, a man whom Sallust had so often seen. This is to write history in an ingenious manner; but he who would make too great a parade of his wit, succeeds only in shewing it, which is of little consequence.

It did not misbecome the cardinal de Retz, to give the characters of the principal personages of his time, because he knew them, and had had them all either for his friends or enemies; though he certainly does not draw his characters in the manner that Maimbourg has done his, in his romantick histories of the princes of
past

past times. But was he a faithful painter? Did not passion, and a love of singularity, run away with his pencil? Ought he, for example, to have expressed himself thus of the queen, mother of Lewis XIV. "*She had that sort of wit, which was necessary to prevent her passing for a fool in the eyes of those who did not know her; she had more harshness than pride; more pride than greatness of soul; more show than reality; more attention to money, than to liberality; more liberality than selfishness; more selfishness than disinterestedness; more attachment than passion; more insensibility than cruelty; more a wish to be pious, than really so; more obstinacy than firmness; and more incapacity than all the rest.*"

It must be confessed, that this obscurity of expression, this croud of antithesis and comparisons, and this burlesque manner of drawing characters so unworthy of history, cannot please sensible people. Those who love truth, will doubt the fidelity of the portrait, when they compare it with the conduct of that queen; and virtuous minds will be as much disgusted with the ill-nature and contempt, which the historian displays in speaking of a princess who loaded him with favours, as incensed to see an archbishop kindling a civil war, only, as he himself acknowledges, for the pleasure of doing it.

If it be necessary to be circumspect with regard to portraits, drawn by those who were so well enabled to give a true likeness, how can we believe the word of an historian who affects to see into the actions of a prince, who may live six hundred leagues distance from him? In this case he should only describe his actions, and leave to those, who may have attended his person for a long time, the task of telling the rest.

Harangues are another species of oratorical falsehoods, in which historians formerly indulged themselves. They made their heroes say what might have been said. This liberty might have been taken with a personage of early times, but at this time of day such fictions are not tolerated: we expect much more; for should a writer put into the mouth of a prince, a speech which

he never pronounced, we should not regard him as an historian, but as a rhetorician.

A third species of falsehoods, and the grossest of all, though it has been long the most seducing, is the marvellous; which prevails in every ancient history, without a single exception.

We find even now some predictions in the History of Charles XII. by Norberg: but we did not meet with any of them in our rational historians of the present age; omens, prodigies, and apparitions, are again classed with fables. History stood in need of being enlightened by philosophy.

S E C T. VII.

THERE is an important circumstance, which may very much affect the dignity of sovereignty. Olearius, who in the year 1634, accompanied the envoys of Holstein into Russia and Persia, tells us in the third book of his History, that the *czar* IVAN BASILOWITZ, banished one of the emperor's ambassadors into Siberia: this is a circumstance, of which no other historian that I know of, makes any mention: and indeed it is not likely, that the emperor would have suffered such an extraordinary and outrageous a violation of the law of nations.

The same author says in another part: "We left the country on the 14th of February 1634, with a certain ambassador, who called himself Charles de Tollerand, prince of Calais, &c. Lewis had sent with him James Roussel, as an ambassador into Turkey and Russia; but that, his colleague having done him some ill-offices with the prime minister, the grand duke had banished him into Siberia."

In the third book, he says, that this ambassador, prince of Calais, &c. and the said Roussel his colleague, who was a merchant, were sent from Henry IV. But however, as Henry IV. died in 1610, he could not send ambassadors into Muscovy in 1634. And if Lewis XIII. sent, as ambassador, a man of so illustrious

lustrious a house as that of TALLERAND, he certainly would not have appointed a merchant for his colleague; Europe would also have been informed of this embassy; and so singular an outrage shewn to the king of France, would have made much more noise in the world.

Having controverted this incredible assertion, and seeing that this fabulous story of Olearius had gained some credit, I think myself obliged to demand an explanation of these strange stories relative to France. The following is the circumstance which gave rise to the mistake of Olearius.

A descendant of the house of Tallerand, who had a passion for travelling, went as far as Turkey, without acquainting his family with his designs, or providing himself with letters of recommendation. In his way he encountered a Dutch merchant named Roussel, who was the agent of a trading company, and who had some correspondence with the French ministry. This man the marquis joined, in order to go visit Persia; but having some words on the road with his fellow-traveller, Roussel slandered him to the prime minister of Moscow, and he was banished into Siberia; from whence he found means to acquaint his family with it, and in about three years, the secretary of state M. Des Noyers, obtained his liberty of the court of Moscow.

Such is the story told at this day; it is not of sufficient consequence to merit a place in history, only as it serves as a barrier against the many stories of this sort told by travellers.

There are historical errors, as well as historical falsehoods. This relation of Olearius is an error; but when they say, that a czar caused the hat of an ambassador to be nailed on his head, that is certainly a falsehood. When writers deceive themselves either with regard to the number and force of a naval army, or give a larger or a less extent to a country than what it really is, this may also be called an error, and indeed a very excusable one. Those who repeat the fables of the ancients, in which the origin of every nation is discovered, may be accused of a weakness common to the

authors of antiquity; they cannot be said to lie, they only write from fiction.

Inadvertence makes us subject to many faults, which cannot be called lies. If in the new geography of Hubner, we find that Europe is bounded on the right where the river Oby runs into the Black Sea, and that Europe has thirty millions of inhabitants, these are inaccuracies that every reader can rectify. If this geography presents you with large towns peopled and fortified, where there are only little borough towns almost uninhabited, it is easy to perceive, that the times are changed; that the author consulted some ancient writer, and that what might be true at that time, is not so now.

Writers also deceive themselves in drawing inferences. PETER the GREAT abolished the dignity of a patriarch. HUBNER affirms, that he declared himself the patriarch. Some pretended anecdotes of Russia go still farther, and assert, that he officiated pontifically; thus from a real fact, do they draw erroneous conclusions, which is but too common.

That which I call the historical falshood is still more common; it is that flattery, satire, or that extravagant love of the marvellous, which makes invention. The historian who, to pay court to a powerful family, praises a tyrant, is a sycophant; the one who would stain the memory of a good prince is a monster; and the romancist, who substitutes his own imaginations for truth, becomes truly despicable. Such folks as were formerly respected by a whole nation, would not be read at this day by a man of the meanest capacity.

There are some criticks who are guilty of greater falshoods still; who alter passages which they do not understand; and who, inspired with envy, ignorantly write against works of utility. These are the serpents who lick the file, and therefore should be left undisturbed.

INTRODUCTION.

IN the first years of the present century, the vulgar knew no hero in the north, but Charles XII. His personal valour, which bespoke rather the common soldier than the king; the fame of his victories, and even of his misfortunes, attracted the attention of those, who are easily struck with great events, but do not see into more slow and useful labours. Foreigners at that time even doubted, whether czar Peter I. would be able to carry on his projects; they have however continued, and have been improved, under the empress Elizabeth, his daughter; and still more so, under the government of Catherine the Second. This empire is now esteemed one of the most flourishing states, and Peter is ranked amongst the greatest lawgivers. Though his undertakings needed not success to enhance their merit in the eyes of wise men, yet such success has perpetuated his glory. We now think, that Charles XII. deserved to be the first general under Peter the Great. The one has left only ruins, the other is the founder of his empire in every sense. I ventured to give the same opinion thirty years ago, when I was writing the History of Charles XII. The memoirs I am now furnished with relative to Russia, put me in a situation to make this empire known, whose people are of such antiquity, and whose laws, manners, and arts, are of such a new creation.

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R. Delaun. del.

D. Jenkine. sculp.

PETER *the* GREAT.

HISTORY

EMPIRE OF RUSSIA.

PETER THE GREAT.

DESCRIPTION OF RUSSIA.

THE empire of Russia is the largest in the whole globe; it extends from west to east, the space of two thousand four hundred leagues of France, and above eight hundred from north to south in its greatest breadth. It borders upon Poland and the Frozen Sea, and joins Siberia and China. Its length from the isle of Dagobro in the western part of Livonia, to its most eastern limits, comprehends near 170 degrees, so that when it is noon in the western, it is near midnight in the eastern parts of the empire. Its breadth from north to south, is thirty-six thousand seven hundred, which make eight hundred and fifty of our common French leagues.

HISTORY

OF THE

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UNDER

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CHAP. I.

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So

So little were the limits of this country known in the last century, that when in 1689 we were told, the Chinese and Russians were at war, and that the emperor Camhi on the one side, and the czars John and Peter on the other, had sent an embassy to determine their differences, three leagues from Pekin, on the frontiers of the two empires, we at first treated the account as a fable.

That part of the earth which at this time bears the name of Russia, or the Russias, is of greater extent than all the rest of Europe, or than ever the Roman empire was, or that of Darius, which was subdued by Alexander; for it contains upwards of 1,100,000 square leagues of France. The Roman empire, and that of Alexander, did not contain more than 550,000 each; and there is not a kingdom in Europe, a twelfth part so extensive as the Roman empire. To make Russia as populous as plentiful, and as well stored with towns as our countries in the south, would require many centuries, and many czars like to Peter the Great.

An English ambassador, who in the year 1733 resided at Petersburgh, and who had been at Madrid, says, in his manuscript relation, that in Spain, which is the least populous of any kingdom in Europe, they can reckon forty persons to each square mile, whereas in Russia they can only compute five; we shall see in the second chapter, whether this minister is not deceived. Marshal Vauban, the greatest of engineers and the best of citizens, calculates, that, taking one with another, every square mile in France, contains nearly two hundred inhabitants. These calculations are never very exact, but they serve to shew the enormous difference in the population of one country from another.

I shall here remark, that from Petersburgh to Pekin, there is scarcely one great mountain to be found in the route, which the caravans might take through Independent Tartary, the plains of the Calmucks, and the great desert of Kiobi; and it is farther to be remarked, that from Archangel to Petersburgh, and from Petersburgh to the extremity of the north of France, by the
road

road of Dantzick, Hamburgh, and Amsterdam, there is not a single hill of any eminence to be seen. This observation may lead one to doubt of the truth of that system, which would make the mountains to have been formed by the rolling of the waves of the sea; and supposes that whatever is at this day dry land, was formerly, for a long time, covered with water. But how is it that the waves, which according to this supposition, formed the Alps, the Pyrenees, and mount Taurus, did not also make some little hillocks in the road from Normandy to China, which is a winding space of three thousand leagues? Geography thus considered, might throw some light on natural philosophy, or at least give room for rational doubts.

We used formerly to call Russia by the name of Muscovy, from the city of Moscow, which was the capital of that empire, and the residence of the grand dukes: but, at this day, the ancient name of Russia prevails.

It is not necessary for me, in this place, to search into the reason, why they call the countries from Smolensko, to the other side of Moscow, White Russia, and why Hubner calls it Black; nor what reason Kiow should be named Red Russia.

It is likely that Madies the Scythian, who made an irruption into Asia, near seven centuries before our æra, might have carried his arms into these regions, as Gengis and Tamerlane have since done, and as probably others had done before Madies. Every part of antiquity does not merit our researches; that of the Chinese, the Indians, the Persians, and the Egyptians, is established by monuments both illustrious and interesting. These monuments suppose others still more ancient, as many centuries were necessary to teach men the art of transmitting thoughts by permanent signs, and as many preceding ages required to form a regular language. But we have no such monuments even in our polite part of Europe. The art of writing was a long time unknown to all the north; the patriarch Constantine, who wrote the History of Kiow in the Russian

Russian language, affirms, that in these countries the use of writing was unknown in the fifth century.

Let others examine whether the Huns, the Slavi, and the Tartars, formerly conducted their wandering and famished tribes towards the source of the Boristhenes. My design is rather to shew what Peter created, than to idly envelop myself in the chaos of antiquity. It should always be remembered, that no family upon earth knows its first founder; and consequently, that no nation can ascertain its first origin.

I use the name of *Russes*, to distinguish the inhabitants of this large empire. That of Roxolanians, which was formerly given them, would be more sonorous, but we must conform to the language * in which we write. The Gazettes and other memoirs, have for a long time used the word *Russiens*; but as this name bears too great an affinity to *Prussiens*, I shall confine myself to that of *Russes*, as almost all our writers have done; and indeed, it appears to me, that a people the most extensive on earth, ought to be known by a name, which should absolutely distinguish them from other nations.

The reader should first of all consult the annexed map, that he may form a clear idea of this empire, which is at present divided into sixteen governments; and which will be, one day, subdivided, when the northern and eastern countries become more populous. The sixteen governments, which contain several extensive provinces, are as follows.

Of LIVONIA.

The nearest province to us is Livonia, one of the most fertile countries of the north. In the twelfth century the inhabitants were pagans. Some merchants of Bremen and Lubeck traded thither, and the religious crusaders, named Sword-bearers, and who were afterwards incorporated in the Teutonical order, seized

* This whole paragraph relates only to the French language, for in English we always use the word *Russians*.

this

this place in the thirteenth century, when the fury of the crusades, armed the christians against every one who was not of their religion. Albert, margrave of Brandenburg, grand master of these religious conquerors, about the year 1514, made himself sovereign of Livonia and of Brandenburg Prussia. The Russians and the Poles, from this time, contended for the province; and being soon afterwards invaded by the Swedes, it was for a long time ravaged by these powers. Gustavus Adolphus king of Sweden conquered it, and it was ceded to that crown by the celebrated treaty of Oliva. Czar Peter, at last, retook it from the Swedes, as will be seen in the course of this History.

Courland, which joins Livonia, though it yields homage to Poland, is still greatly dependent on Russia. These are the western limits of this empire in Christendom.

Of the Governments of REVEL, PETERSBURGH, and WYBURG.

More to the north we perceive the governments of Revel and Estonia. Revel was built by the Danes in the thirteenth century. The Swedes had possession of this province, from the time it put itself under the protection of that crown in 1561, till it was ranked among the number of the conquests of Peter the Great.

On the borders of Estonia lies the gulf of Finland. To the eastward of this sea, and at the junction of the river Neva with the lake Ladoga, stands Petersburg, the most modern and most beautiful city of the empire, built by the czar Peter, in spite of all the united obstacles which opposed its foundation.

This city is built on the gulf of Cronstat, in the midst of nine branches of rivers, which divide its quarters; a castle occupies the centre of the town, built on an island formed by the main stream of the Neva; seven canals, cut from the rivers, wash the walls of one of the palaces, of the admiralty, of the dock-yard for the gallies, and of several manufactories. Thirty-five
large

large churches are so many ornaments to the town, five of which are set apart for foreigners, who are either Roman Catholicks, Calvinists, or Lutherans; these are five temples raised with the spirit of toleration, and are examples to other nations. There are five palaces; the old one, which is called the summer-palace, is situated on the river Neva, and has a large ballustrade of beautiful stone, along the side of the river. The new summer-palace, near the triumphal gate, is one of the most beautiful pieces of architecture in Europe; the buildings raised for the admiralty, the reception of the cadets, the imperial colleges, the academy of sciences, the exchange, and the magazine for merchants, together with the dock-yard for the gallies, are also so many magnificent monuments of taste and utility. The house of the police, the publick dispensary, where all the vessels are made of porcelain, the magazine belonging to the court, the foundery, the arsenal, the bridges, the markets, the squares, and the barracks for the horse and foot-guards, contribute to the embellishment of the town, as well as to its safety. It is estimated, that this city contains four hundred thousand souls. In the environs of the town are several country-seats, the magnificence of which astonishes every traveller: there is one, whose water-works are greatly superior to those of Versailles. There was nothing of this in 1712, it being then an impassable morass. Petersburgh is esteemed the capital of Ingria, a small province conquered by Peter the First. Wyburg, which was also conquered by him, and that part of Finland, which was lost and ceded by Sweden in 1742, form another government.

ARCHANGEL.

Higher up, proceeding to the north, is the province of Archangel, a country entirely new to the southern nations of Europe. It derived its name from St. Michael the archangel, under whose protection it was placed, a long time after the Russians had embraced christianity,

Christianity, which they did not do till the beginning of the eleventh century; and it was not till the middle of the sixteenth, that this country was known to other nations. The English in 1533, seeking a north-east passage to the East-Indies, Chancellor, a captain of one of the ships equipped for that expedition, discovered the harbour of Archangel in the White Sea. It was then a desert, with only one convent, and a little church of St. Michael the archangel.

From this port, the English proceeded up the river Dwina, entered into the inland part of the country, and at last arrived at the city of Moscow. They easily made themselves masters of the trade of Russia, which they transferred from the town of Novogorod, where it was carried on by land to this sea-port. It was, indeed, inaccessible seven months in the year; yet, notwithstanding, this trade was much more advantageous than the fairs of Novogorod, which were fallen into decay, occasioned by the wars with Sweden. The English obtained the privilege of trading to this place without paying any duty; and it would be well, perhaps, if every other nation negotiated in the same manner. The Dutch soon after partook of the trade of Archangel, which was not then known to other nations.

Long before this, the Genoese and Venetians had established a trade with the Russians, by the mouth of the Tanais, where they had built a town called Tana; but from the time of Tamerlane's ravages in that part of the world, this branch of Italian commerce had been destroyed: but that of Archangel existed with great advantages to the English and Dutch, till Peter the Great opened the Baltick Sea to his dominions.

RUSSIAN LAPLAND.

Of the Government of ARCHANGEL.

To the west of Archangel, and within its government, lies Russian Lapland, the third part of this country, the other two parts belong to Sweden and to Denmark.

Denmark. This is a very large country; it occupies about eight degrees of longitude, and extends in latitude, from the polar circle to the North Cape. The people who inhabit this country, were confusedly known to the ancients under the name of Troglodites and northern pigmies; names proper enough for men, who were in general but three cubits * high, and who lived in caverns: they are just the same now as they were then; their complexion is tawny, though the other people of the north are white; they are almost all short, while their neighbours, and the people of Iceland under the polar circle, are tall in stature: they appear made for their mountainous country, being supple, thick-set, and robust: their skin is hard, the better to resist the cold; their thighs and legs are slender; their feet small, that they may run more nimble amongst the rocks, with which their land is quite covered; they are passionately fond of their country, which only they can be fond of, being able to live no where else. It has been asserted, upon the authority of Olaus, that these people were originally of Finland, and from thence removed into Lapland, where they degenerated in size. But why did they not chuse lands less northwards, where they might have lived more conveniently? Why do their features, their figures, their complexions so widely differ from their pretended ancestors? It may be said with as much propriety, perhaps, that the grass which grows in Lapland, came from the grass of Denmark; and that the fishes peculiar to their lakes, had been propagated from those of Sweden. It bears every appearance that the Laplanders are, like their animals, the produce of their own country, and that the one was made for the other.

Those who inhabit the borders of Finland, have adopted some of the expressions of their neighbours, which happens to every people. But when two countries give absolutely different names to established customs, and to objects which are continually before their eyes, it is a strong presumption, that the one is not a

* Considering a cubit as a foot and a half.

colony from the other. The Finlanders call a bear *karu*, and the Laplanders call it *muriet*: the sun in Finland, is named *auringa*, and in Lapland *beve*. Here is no analogy. The inhabitants of Finland and Swedish Lapland, formerly worshipped an idol they named Jumalac; and since the reign of Gustavus Adolphus, to whom they owe the appellation of Lutherans, they call Jesus Christ the son of Jumalac. The Muscovite Laplanders are at present supposed to be of the Greek church; but those who wander about the mountains of the North Cape, content themselves with adoring one God under several rude forms, as has been the ancient custom of all the nations called Nomades.

This race of people, who are few in number, have very circumscribed ideas; and indeed, so far they are happy; for were their minds enlarged, they might have new wants, which they could not satisfy; at present they live contented, and free from diseases; notwithstanding the rigour of the climate, they drink nothing but water, and arrive to a great age. The custom imputed to them of asking strangers to honour their wives and daughters with their embraces, probably arose from an idea of a superiority of accomplishments, which they fancied they beheld in those strangers, and from a desire to correct the imperfections of their own race. This custom was established among the virtuous Lacedæmonians. A married man would ask a comely youth to give him handsome children, whom he would adopt. Jealousy and laws hinder other men from thus giving up their wives: but the Laplanders have scarcely any laws, and in all probability are unacquainted with jealousy.

Moscow.

Having ascended the river Dwina from north to south, we arrive at Moscow, the capital of the empire. This city was for a long time the centre of the Russian dominions, before they were extended on the side of China and Persia.

Moscow is situate in 55 degrees and a half north latitude, in a warmer climate and more fruitful soil than Peterburgh; it stands in the midst of a large and beautiful plain, on the river Moscowa *, and on two other small rivers, which, with the former, lose themselves in the Ocka, and afterwards go to swell the river Wolga. This city, in the thirteenth century, was only a cluster of huts, inhabited by a set of unhappy wretches, that groaned under the oppression of the race of Gengis-Khan.

The Cremelin †, which was the habitation of the great dukes, was not built till the fourteenth century, so few cities in this part of the world being of ancient date. This palace was constructed by Italian architects, as were several churches in the Gothick taste, which at that time prevailed throughout Europe; there are two by the celebrated Aristotle of Bologna, who flourished in the fifteenth century; but the private houses were so many wooden huts.

The first writer who brought us acquainted with Moscow was Olearius, who in 1633, accompanied an embassy of the duke of Holstein, which was as extravagant in its pomp, as its design proved useless. A native of Holstein must have been struck with the amazing extent of the city, with its five quarters, with the largeness of the one belonging to the czars, and with the Asiatick splendor which then prevailed at that court. There was nothing like it in Germany, no town near so large, or so well inhabited.

The earl of Carlisle, ambassador from Charles II. to the czar Alexis in the year 1663, on the other hand, complains in his relation, that he could not find any convenience of life in Moscow; no inns upon the road, nor refreshments of any kind. One judged as a German, and the other as an Englishman, and both by comparison. The Englishman was shocked to see, that most of the Russian noblemen slept on boards or benches, with the skins of animals under them, which

* In the Russian language *Moskwa*,
language *Kremle*.

† In the Russian

had been the ancient practice of every nation. The houses, which were almost all of wood, had no furniture; nor had they any table-linen, no pavement in the streets, nor any thing agreeable or convenient: their artizans were very few, and those extremely awkward, whom they only employed out of absolute necessity. Had these people possessed sobriety, they might have passed for Spartans.

But the court on publick days resembled that of a Persian monarch. The earl of Carlisle says, he saw nothing but gold and precious stones on the robes of the czar and his courtiers: these habits were not manufactured in that country; yet it is evident, the people might have been rendered industrious, since long before that time, in the reign of the czar Boris Godonow, they had cast the largest bell in Europe; and in the patriarchal church were to be seen several ornaments in silver, which had required great skill and diligence to make. These performances, made under the direction of German and Italian artists, were but temporary efforts; it is the daily industry, and the continual exercise of a multitude of arts, that make a flourishing nation. Poland and the neighbouring nations, were at that time very little superior to the Russians. The handicraft trades were not in greater perfection in the north of Germany, nor were the polite arts much better known in the middle of the sixteenth century.

But though Moscow had not at that time the magnificence nor arts of our great cities of Europe, yet the circumference of the part called the Chinese town, where the rarities of China were exhibited; the large quarter of the Cremelin, where stood the palace of the czars; the gilded domes; the high and extraordinary turrets; and lastly, the number of its inhabitants, which amounted to near five hundred thousand; all these together, rendered Moscow one of the most considerable cities in the universe.

Theodore or Fœdor, the elder brother of Peter the Great, began to polish Moscow. He caused several

large houses to be built of stone, though without any regular architecture. He also encouraged the heads of his court to build, advancing them money, and furnishing them with materials. It is to him they are indebted for the first studs of fine horses, and for several useful embellishments. Peter, who made every improvement, took care of Moscow, at the same time he was building Petersburg; he had it paved, and ornamented, and enriched with edifices and manufactures: and lastly, the lord chamberlain * to the empress Elizabeth, daughter of Peter, has instituted a university there within these few years. This is the same gentleman, who furnished me with the memorials from which I now write, and who was more capable than myself to compose this history, and that even in the French language; all his letters tend to prove, that his leaving to me the charge of this work, proceeded from his modesty.

SMOLENSKO.

Westward of the dutchy of Moscow lies Smolensko, a part of the ancient Sarmatia Europea. The dutchies of Moscow and Smolensko, compose what is properly called White Russia. Smolensko, which at first belonged to the great dukes of Russia, was subdued by the great duke of Lithuania, in the beginning of the fifteenth century; and was re-taken, one hundred years afterwards, by its ancient masters. Sigismund III. king of Poland, made himself master of it in 1611. The czar Alexis, father of Peter, again recovered it in 1654; and ever since that time, it has constituted a part of the Russian empire. It is said in the eulogium of czar Peter, pronounced at Paris in the Academy of Sciences, that before his time, the Russians had made no conquests either to the west or south: this shews plainly, that they were mistaken.

* M. de Showalow.

Of the Governments of NOVOGOROD, and of KIOV,
or the UKRAINE.

Between Petersburg and Smolensko lies the province of Novogorod. It is said, that in this country the ancient Slavi, or Sclavonians, made their first settlement. But from whence came these Sclavonians, whose language is so well known in the north-east of Europe? Sla signifies a chief, and slave one belonging to a chief. All that we know of these ancient Slavi is, that they were a conquering nation. They built the town of Novogorod the Great, situated at the head of a navigable river, which for a long time enjoyed a flourishing commerce, and was a powerful ally to the Hanse-towns. The czar John Basilowitz * conquered it in 1467, and carried away all its riches, which contributed to the magnificence of the court of Moscow, till then almost unknown.

To the south of the province of Smolensko, we meet with the province of Kiow, which is called the Lesser Russia, Red Russia, or the Ukraine, through which runs the Dnieper, called by the Greeks the Boristhenes. The difference between these two names, the one hard to pronounce, and the other melodious, tends, among a hundred other instances, to shew the rudeness of all the ancient people of the north, and the graces of the Greek language. Kiow, the capital city, formerly Kiovia, was built by the emperors of Constantinople, who made it a colony; here are yet to be seen several Greek inscriptions, of twelve hundred years standing: it is the only city of any antiquity in these countries, where men lived so long together without building walls. It was here the great dukes of Russia resided in the eleventh century, before the Tartars brought it under their subjection.

The inhabitants of the Ukraine, who are called Cossacks, are a collection of the ancient Roxolani, Sarmatians and Tartars. This country made part of an-

* In the Russian language *Iwan Wassiliowitzsch*.

cient Scythia. Rome and Constantinople, whose empire extended over so many nations, are not to compare in fertility with the Ukraine. Nature has done her utmost for the benefit of the inhabitants, but they have not seconded her efforts, living on the produce of a soil as uncultivated as fertile, or rather by rapine: they are fond, to excess, of that greatest of all blessing, liberty; and yet have continually been the slaves, either of Poland or Turkey. At last they surrendered to Russia in 1634, with certain restrictions, and Peter entirely subdued them.

Other nations are divided into cities and little towns; this is divided into ten regiments. At the head of these regiments is a chief, elected by a plurality of voices, named Hetman, or Itman. This captain of the nation has no supreme power. At this day, the sovereigns of Russia nominate some lord of the court for their Itman; who is in fact, only the governor of the province, like the governors of the *pays d'Etats* in France, that have retained some privileges.

Formerly the inhabitants of this country were Pagans and Mahometans; when they were subjected to Poland, they embraced the communion of the church of Rome; but now that they are under the Russian government, they follow the rites of the Greek church.

Among these are numbered the Zaporavian Cossacks, who are little removed from our buccaneers, those desperate robbers. What distinguishes these people from all others is, that they never suffer women to live among them, as it is said that the Amazons would never admit of men. The women that serve for propagation, dwell in other islands on the river: they have no marriages, nor distinguished families: they inroll their male children for their military service, and leave the girls to the care of their mothers. Oftentimes a brother has children by his sister, and a father by his daughter. They have no other laws, than such customs as necessity has established, though they have several priests of the Greek church among them. Fort St. Elizabeth has lately been built on the Boristhenes, to

keep

keep them in subjection. They serve as irregular troops in the Russian army, and unhappy is the man who falls into their hands.

Of the Governments of BELGOROD, of VERONIS, and of NISCHGOROD,

Ascending north-east from the province of Kiow, between the Boristhenes and the Tanais, the government of Belgorod presents itself, and is as extensive as that of Kiow. This is one of the most fruitful provinces of Russia, and furnishes Poland with a prodigious number of that large cattle, known by the name of the Ukraine oxen. These two provinces are protected from the incursions of the Crim Tartars by lines, which extend from the Boristhenes to the Tanais, and are well furnished with forts and redoubts.

Advancing further to the north, we pass the Tanais, and enter into the government of Veronis, which extends to the banks of the Palus Mœotis. In the neighbourhood of the capital, which we call Veronis *, and at the mouth of the river of that name which falls into the Tanais, Peter the Great built his first fleet; an enterprize, of which they had not then the least idea, in these extensive dominions. From thence we proceed to the government of Nischgorod, abounding in grain, and watered by the Wolga.

ASTRACAN.

From Nischgorod we proceed southward to the kingdom of Astracan. This country extends from 43 degrees and a half north latitude, in a most delightful climate, to near fifty, comprehending about as many degrees longitude as latitude; it is bounded on one side by the Caspian Sea, and on the other by the mountains of Circassia, projecting beyond the Caspian along mount Caucasus; it is watered by the great river Wolga, the Jaick, and several other rivers; between which

* In Russia written and pronounced *Veronefsk*.

there is a possibility, as Mr. Perry, the English engineer pretends, of cutting canals, which would serve as channels to receive the overflowing of the waters, and which would be productive of the same effect as the waters of the Nile, and greatly increase the fertility of the soil: but to the right and left of the Wolga and the Jaick, this beautiful country was infested rather than inhabited, by Tartars who cultivate nothing, but live as strangers upon the face of the earth.

The engineer Perry, who was employed by Peter the Great in these parts, discovered here vast tracts of land covered with pasture and pulse, together with cherry and almond-trees. Wild sheep, whose flesh was excellent food, were pastured in these solitary places. Government was obliged to begin with taming and civilizing the men of these climates, in order to second that nature which they were enforcing in Petersburgh.

The kingdom of Astracan is a part of the ancient Caspak, conquered by Gengis-Khan, and afterwards by Tamerlane, whose empire reached as far as Moscow. The czar John Basilides, the grandson of John Basilowitz, and the greatest conqueror of all the Russian princes, rescued his country from the Tartarian yoke in the sixteenth century, and added the kingdom of Astracan to his other conquests in the year 1554.

Astracan is the boundary of Asia and Europe, and is capable of trading with both, as merchandizes may be conveyed from the Caspian Sea by the Wolga. This was one of the great projects of Peter the Great, and has been partly carried into execution. An entire suburb of Astracan is inhabited by Indians.

OREMBURG.

To the south-east of the kingdom of Astracan is a little country newly planted, which is called Oremburg: the town so called was built in 1734, on the banks of the river Jaick. This country is thickly covered with branches of mount Caucasus. Several fortresses raised at equal distances, defend the passages of the

the mountains, and the rivers which descend from them. It is into this region, formerly uninhabited, that the Persians come at present to deposit and hide from the rapacity of robbers, such of their effects as have escaped the fury of the civil wars. The town of Oremburg is become the receptacle for Persians and their fortunes, and has profited by their misfortunes: the Indians and inhabitants of Great Bukary traffick hither: it is now the mart of Asia.

Of the Governments of CASAN and of GREAT PERMIA.

Beyond the Wolga and the Jaick, towards the north, lies the kingdom of Casan, which, like Astracan, fell to the share of one of the sons of Gengis-Khan, and afterwards to a son of Tamerlane, and was at last subdued by John Basilides. Many Mahometan Tartars live here yet. This large country extends as far as Siberia: it was formerly very rich and flourishing, and has still preserved some part of its opulence. A province of this kingdom, named Great Permia, but since Solikam, was the staple of the Persian merchandize, and the trade of the furs of Tartary. In this province has been found a great quantity of money of the coin of the first caliphs, and some golden idols belonging to the Tartars*: but these monuments of ancient riches have been found in the midst of poverty, and in the middle of deserts, where there has been no trace of commerce: such revolutions may easily and suddenly happen in a barren country, since the most fruitful provinces have experienced the vicissitudes of fortune.

The celebrated Swedish prisoner Strahlemberg, who made such advantage of his captivity, and who examined those extensive countries with so much attention, was the first that established the probability of a fact, which till then was deemed incredible, viz. the ancient commerce of these regions. Pliny and Pomponius Mela relate, that in the reign of Augustus, a

* Memoirs of Strahlemberg, confirmed by those sent me from Russia.

king of the Suevi made a present to Metellus Celer of some Indians, who had been cast by a storm on the borders of the Elbe. But how could they navigate on the German Sea? This adventure has appeared fabulous to all our moderns, especially since the commerce of our hemisphere has been changed by the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope. But formerly there was no more wonder to see an Indian trade to the north-west part of his country, than to behold a Roman travelling to India by the way of Arabia. The Indians went to Persia, embarked on the sea of Hyrcania, ascended the Rha, which is now the Wolga, and penetrated as far as Great Permia, by the Kama, from whence they might embark on the North Sea, or the Baltick. There have existed, in every age, men of enterprizing genius; the Tyrians made more surprizing voyages.

If after surveying all these vast provinces, we cast our eye towards the east, we shall find the limits of Europe and Asia again confounded. A new name is certainly necessary for this great part of the world. The ancients divided their known universe into Europe, Asia, and Africa, but they had not seen a tenth part of it; which is the reason, that when we pass the Palus Mœotides, we neither know where Europe ends or Asia begins; the country beyond mount Taurus, was distinguished by the vague appellation of Scythia, and afterwards by that of Tartary. It would be proper, perhaps, to give the name of *Terræ Arcticæ*, or Northern Lands, to the whole country extending from the Baltick Sea to the confines of China; as we give the name of *Terræ Australes*, to that part of the world, of the like extent, situated under the Antarctick Pole, and which serves as the counterpoise of the globe.

Of the Government of SIBERIA, of the SAMOIEDES, of the OSTIACKS, &c.

From the frontiers of the provinces of Archangel, Rasan, and Astracan, Siberia, with the lands beyond it,

it, extends itself eastwards to the sea of Japan; it joins the southern parts of Russia by mount Caucasus; from thence to the country of Kamschatka, is reckoned twelve hundred French leagues; and from the south part of Tartary, which serves as its boundary to the Southern Sea, they compute about four hundred, which is the least breadth of the Russian empire. This country produces the richest furs, which was the occasion of its being discovered in 1563. In the sixteenth century, in the reign of the czar John Basilides; and not in that of Feodor Johnnowitz, a private person in the neighbourhood of Archangel, named Anika, one tolerably rich considering his station and country, observed, that several men of an extraordinary figure, dressed in a manner unknown to that country, and whose language was understood by nobody but themselves, came down every year a river which runs into the Dwina*; and that they brought with them martens and black foxes, which they sold for nails and pieces of glass, in the same manner as the savages of America used to change their gold with the Spaniards: and caused them to be followed by his sons and servants, as far as their own country. These were the Samoiedes, a people who seem to resemble the Laplanders, but who are of a different race. They are, like them, ignorant of the use of bread; and have, like them, the convenience of rein-deer, which they train up in the same manner. They live in caverns and huts in the midst of snow†: but setting this aside, nature has made a striking difference between this species of men and the Laplanders. Their upper jaw projects so far, as to be on a level with their nose, and their ears are much higher. Neither the men or women have any hair but on their heads, and their nipples are as black as ebony. The Lapland men and women are not distinguished by any such signs. By memoirs sent from these countries, which are so little known, I understand, that the author of the excellent History of the King's Garden, is mistaken, when in

* Memoirs sent from Petersburg.

† Idem.
speaking

speaking of many curious things in human nature, he confounds the Lapland race with that of the Samoiedes. There is a greater difference in the human species than is generally imagined. The Samoiedes and the Hottentots, seem to be the two extremes of our continent; and if we pay attention to the black nipples of the Samoiedian women, and to the aprons which nature has given to the Hottentot women, which hangs half way down their thighs, we shall have some idea of the variety of our animal species; a variety unknown to the inhabitants of towns, who are almost ignorant of every thing, but what immediately affects themselves.

The Samoiedes have as many singularities in their moral, as in their natural distinctions; they pay no worship to the supreme Being; they approach towards Manicheism, or rather, to the religion of the ancient Magi, in this one point only, that they acknowledge a good and a bad principle. The horrible climate they inhabit, seems in some measure, to excuse this belief, which is so ancient among many nations, and so natural to the ignorant and the unhappy.

Theft or murder is never heard of amongst them; being almost without passions, they are strangers to injustice. There is no term in their language to express vice or virtue. Their extreme simplicity has not as yet permitted them to form abstracted notions; sensation alone guides them; and this is perhaps an incontestable proof, that men naturally love justice, when not blinded by inordinate passions.

Some of these savages were persuaded to suffer themselves to be conducted to Moscow, where every thing they saw engaged their admiration. They regarded the emperor as their God, and submitted to pay him a yearly tribute of two martens or fables each inhabitant. Several colonies were soon established beyond the Oby and the Irtis*, where they also built several fortresses. A Cossack was sent in the country in 1595, who conquered it for the czars, with only a few soldiers and

* In the Russian language *Irtisch*.

some artillery, just as Cortez subdued Mexico; but his conquest consisted of deserts.

Ascending the Oby, at the junction of the river Ir-tis with the Tobol, they found a small habitation, which they converted into the town of Tobol *, the capital of Siberia, and now a considerable place. Who would think, that this country had been for a long time the residence of those very Huns, who under the command of Attila, ravaged as far as Rome, and that these Huns came from the north of China? The Usbeck Tartars succeeded the Huns, and the Russians the Usbeck Tartars. These savage countries have been as much contended for, as the most fertile provinces. Siberia was formerly more populous than it is now, especially towards the south, if we may judge from the ruins and sepulchral monuments.

All this part of the world, from the 60th degree of latitude or thereabouts, as far as those mountains of perpetual ice which border the North Seas, bears no resemblance to the regions of the Temperate Zone; the earth produces neither the same plants nor the same animals, neither have they the same sort of fish in their lakes and rivers.

Below the country of the Samoiedes, lies that of the Ostiacks, along the river Oby. They bear no resemblance to the Samoiedes, only that like them, and indeed all the first race of men, they are hunters, shepherds, and fishermen: some of them are of no religion, not being formed into any society; while the others who live together, have a kind of worship, praying to the principal object of their wants: it is said, they worship a sheep-skin, because nothing is more serviceable than that animal; in the same manner as the ancient Egyptian husbandmen chose the emblem of an ox, in order to pay their adoration to the Divinity, who made that animal for the use of man. Some authors pretend, that these Ostiacks worshipped the skin of a bear, seeing that it was warmer than that of a sheep, but it is likely they did not worship either.

* In the Russian language *Tobolskay*.

The Ostiacks have also other idols, whose origin and worship merit as little our attention as their worshippers. Several of them were converted to Christianity in 1712; but these, like our ignorant peasants, are Christians without knowing why. Several authors pretend, that these people were formerly of Great Permia; but Great Permia is almost a desert, why then should the inhabitants remove so far, and to so bad a place? These difficulties are not worth our researches. Every nation which has not cultivated the arts, does not deserve mentioning.

In the country of the Ostiacks in particular, and amongst their neighbours the Burates and the Jakutians, a kind of ivory is often found under-ground, the nature of which has not as yet been discovered: some believing it to be a fossil, and others that it is the tooth of a species of the elephant, whose race has been destroyed. But in what country do we not find some productions of nature, which at once astonish and confound philosophy?

Several mountains in this country abound with the amianthes, a kind of incombustible flax, with which they make linen, and sometimes a kind of paper.

To the south of the Ostiacks are the Burates, another nation, which has not as yet embraced Christianity. Eastward there are several hords, whom the Russians have not been able entirely to subdue. None of these people have the least notion of the kalendar. They reckon by snows, and not by the apparent motion of the sun; as it snows regularly, and for a long time together, every winter, they say, "I am so many snows old," as we say so many years.

Here I ought to mention a circumstance, related by Mr. Strahlemberg, a Swedish officer, who was taken prisoner at Pultowa, and sent to Siberia, where he lived fifteen years, and surveyed the whole country; he says, that there are still the remains of an ancient people, whose skins are speckled or spotted, and that he himself had seen some of them; which fact has been confirmed to me by many Russians born at Tobolskoy. The

variety of the human species seems to be very much diminished; we meet with but very few of these singular beings, who have probably been exterminated by some other race: for example, there are very few of the Albinos, or white Moors, one of whom was presented to the Academy of Sciences at Paris, which I saw. It is the same with many other species of animals, who are become very scarce.

As to the Borandians, who are so often spoken of in the learned History of the King's Garden, my memoirs say, that these people are absolutely unknown to the Russians.

All the southern part of these provinces is peopled by numerous hords of Tartars. The ancient Turks formerly came from this part of Tartary, to subdue those countries which they at present possess. The Calmucks and Monguls are the very Scythians, who under the command of Madies, made themselves masters of Upper Asia, and conquered Cyaxares king of the Medes. It was them, whom Gengis-Khan and his sons led afterwards as far as Germany, and who formed the empire of the Mogul under Tamerlane. These people are a great example of the changes attendant upon all nations. Some of their hords, so far from being formidable, are become vassals to Russia.

Such is the situation of a Calmuck nation, situate between Siberia and the Caspian Sea. It was here that in 1720, they discovered a subterraneous house of stone, in which were found some urns, lamps, and ear-rings, together with an equestrian statue of an oriental prince, with a diadem on his head, two women seated on thrones, and a roll of manuscripts, which Peter the Great sent to the Academy of Inscription at Paris, and which proved to be written in the Thibet language: all these are singular testimonies, that the arts formerly resided in this now barbarous country; and are lasting proofs of the truth of what Peter the Great has more than once said, that the arts had made the tour of the world.

Of KAMSCHATKA.

The last province is Kamschatka, the most eastern part of the continent. The north part of this country is well furnished with fine furs; which serve as clothing to the inhabitants during the winter, but in the summer they go naked. The first discoverers were surprized to find in the southern parts, men with long beards; while in the northern parts, from the country of the Samoi-edes, as far as the mouth of the river Amour or Amur, the men have no more beards than the Americans. Thus in the empire of Russia, there are a greater variety of species, more singularities, and more different customs, than in any country in the universe.

Some recent memoirs inform me, that these savage people had among them their theologians, who pretend, that the inhabitants of this peninsula were descended from a superior Being, whom they called *Kouthou*. These memoirs farther say, that they render him no worship, nor do they either love or fear him.

Thus they had a mythology, and no religion; this may be true, but it is not very likely; fear is the natural attribute of man. Among their other absurdities, it is pretended, they could distinguish between the things permitted them to do, and those which were forbidden them: that they were permitted to satisfy every passion: but that they were forbidden to whet a knife or a hatchet on a journey, or save the life of a man who had drowned himself. If it was a sin with them to save the life of their neighbour, they were different from all the rest of mankind, who from instinct run to the assistance of their fellow-creatures, uncontrouled by either passion or interest. One would not imagine, that they could make a crime of an action so common, and at the same time so necessary, that it is not even a virtue; and that their philosophy could be so false and superstitious, as to persuade them by saving a man's life, they opposed providence; and that a man destined by heaven to be drowned, ought not to be assisted

sifted by man: even barbarians are far from professing such false philosophy.

Notwithstanding this, they celebrate, we are told, a grand feast, which they distinguish by a word in their language signifying purification; but why this, if they are permitted to follow the bent of their own inclinations? and what need of purification, if they neither love nor fear their god *Kouthou*?

There are, no doubt, many contradictions in their ideas, as there are in people of almost every nation; their errors arise from a deficiency of the mind, and ours from an abuse of it: we have many more contradictions than they, because we are blessed with more rational ideas.

As they have a kind of God, so also have they dæmons; in short, they have among them sorcerers, in the same manner as had every nation, even the most polished. These sorcerers are the old women of Kamschatka, as were ours among us, before natural philosophy opened our understanding. It is then every where the nature of the human mind, to adopt absurd ideas founded on curiosity and weakness. The people of Kamschatka have also their prophets, who interpret dreams, and it is not a long time since we had them likewise.

When the court of Russia subdued this nation, and built five fortresses in the country, they embraced the Greek religion. A Russian gentleman, very well informed, told me, that one of their greatest objections was, that this worship could not be done among them, because bread and wine was necessary to the ceremony: neither of which could they obtain in their country.

These people merit very little notice; I shall therefore make use of but one observation, which is, that if we cast our eye on three quarters of America, on all the southern part of Africa, on the north from Lapland to the Japan Sea, we shall find that not one half of the inhabitants exceed the people of Kamschatka.

A Cossack officer, going by land from Siberia to Kamschatka in 1701, by order of Peter, who, even after his unfortunate expedition to Narva, still extended his

designs from one end of the continent to the other, was the first who discovered this country. Afterwards, in 1725, some time before death surprized him in the midst of his conquests, Peter sent captain Bering, a Dane, with exprels orders to go by sea from Kamschatka to America, if such an enterprize was practicable. Bering did not succeed in his first attempt. The empress Anne sent him again in 1733. Spengenberg, a captain of a ship, his associate in this voyage, set out the first from Kamschatka; but could not put to sea till 1739, so much time being necessary to reach the port they were to embark from, to build ships, to rig them, and to furnish them with necessaries. Spengenberg penetrated as far as the north of Japan, through a streight formed by rocks, and returned without discovering any more than this passage.

In 1741, Bering cruized over this sea, accompanied by the astronomer De L'Isle de la Croyère, of the same family of Lisle, which has produced such excellent geographers: another captain embarked, on his own account, in the same project. Bering and this other captain both reached the coast of America, to the north of California. Thus the passage so long sought for, was at last discovered; but they met with no sort of refreshments on these desert coasts. Their fresh water was exhausted, and part of their crew perished with the scurvy; they saw the northern banks of California, at the distance of a hundred miles; and perceived some leathern canoes, in which were people that resembled Canadians. But all was fruitless. Bering died in an island, to which he gave his own name. The other captain, finding himself nearer to California, sent ten of his crew on shore, who never returned. The captain, after waiting for them in vain, was obliged to return to Kamschatka, and D'Isle died on going ashore. Such disasters, almost always attend the first enterprizes upon the northern seas. What advantages we are to reap from these painful and dangerous discoveries, we are yet to learn.

We have now noticed the provinces that in general compose the dominions of Russia, from Finland to the

sea

sea of Japan. All the great branches of this empire have been united at different times, as in all other kingdoms in the world; the Scythians, the Huns, the Massagetes, the Slavi, the Getes, and the Sarmatians, are at present the subjects of the czars: the Russians, properly so called, are the ancient Roxolani, or Slavi.

If we reflect, we shall find that most other states have been formed in the same manner. The French are an assemblage of Goths, of Danes called Normans, of northern Germans called Burgundians, of Franks, Alemans, and some Romans mixed with the ancient Celtæ. In Rome and Italy, there are many families descended from the people of the north, but we know not of any that are descended from the ancient Romans. The supreme proutiff is oftentimes the descendant of a Lombard, a Goth, a Teuton, or a Cimbrian. The Spaniards are a race of Arabs, Carthaginians, Jews, Tyrians, Visigoths and Vandals, incorporated with the inhabitants of the country. When nations are thus intermixed, it is a long time before they are civilized, or even before their language is formed; though some nations are much sooner polished than others. Polity and the liberal arts are so difficult to establish, and the revolutions which overthrow the new raised structure so frequent, that we may wonder that most nations are not as barbarous as the Tartars.

CH A P. II.

Continuation of the Description of Russia. The Population, Finances, Armies, Customs, and Religion. State of Russia before the Time of Peter the Great.

IN proportion as a country becomes civilized, the better it is peopled. Thus China and India are more populous than any other nation, because after the multitude of revolutions which changed the face of the land, they were the first in establishing civil society. Their government has subsisted upwards of four thousand

land years; which indicates, as has been observed, many essays and efforts in preceding ages. The Russians came late; but having the arts introduced among them in their full perfection, it has happened, that they have made more progress in fifty years, than any other nation alone has done in five hundred. This country is not peopled in proportion to its extent, far from it; yet such as it is, it contains as many inhabitants as any other state in Christendom.

From the capitation rolls, and from the register of merchants, artificers, and male peasants, I may take upon me to say, that Russia at this time contains at least twenty-four millions of inhabitants. Of these twenty-four millions of men, the greatest part are villains, or bondmen, as in Poland, in several provinces of Germany, and formerly in most parts of Europe. In Russia and in Poland, the riches of a gentleman or of an ecclesiastic, is not estimated according to his revenue in money, but according to the number of his slaves.

The following is the state of the register made in 1747, of the males who paid the poll-tax:

Merchants	-	-	-	-	198,000
Workmen	-	-	-	-	16,500
Peasants incorporated with the merchants	}	and workmen	-	-	1950
Peasants called Odonoskis, who contribute to the maintenance of the militia			-	-	430,220
Other peasants who do not contribute thereto	}		-	-	26,080
Workmen of different trades, whose parents are unknown			-	-	1000
Other workmen, who are not incorporated into the classes of tradesmen	}		-	-	4700
Peasants immediately dependent on the crown, about			-	-	555,000
Peasants employed in the crown-mines, as well Christians, as Mahometans and Pagans	}		-	-	64,000
Other			-	-	

Other peasants belonging to the crown, who work in mines and in private ma- nufactures	}	24,200
New converts to the Greek church	-	57,000
Pagans, consisting of Tartars and Ostiacks	-	241,000
Mourfes, Tartars, Morduats, and others, whether Pagans or Greeks, employed by the admiralty	}	7800
Tartars subject to contribution, called } Tepetris, and Bobilitz, &c.	}	28,900
Bondmen belonging to several merchants, and other privileged persons, who with- out possessing any land, are permitted to have vassals	}	9100
Peasants of the lands destined for the main- tenance of the court	}	418,000
Peasants of the lands appertaining to her majesty, independent of the rights of the crown	}	60,500
Peasants of the lands confiscated to the crown	}	13,600
Bondmen belonging to gentlemen	-	3,550,000
Bondmen belonging to the assembly of the clergy, and who defray their expences	}	37,500
Bondmen belonging to the bishops	-	116,400
Bondmen belonging to convents, whose number Peter greatly diminished	}	721,500
Bondmen belonging to cathedral and pa- rochial churches	}	23,700
Peasants employed in the docks of the ad- miralty, or in other publick works, about	}	4000
Labourers in the mines, and in private manufactures	}	16,000
Peasants of the lands given to principal manufacturers	}	14,500
Labourers in the crown mines	-	3000
Bastards brought up by the clergy	-	40
Sectaries called Raskolniky	-	2200

6,646,390
Here

Here is a round number of six millions, six hundred and forty-six thousand, three hundred and ninety male persons, who pay the poll-tax. In this number boys and old men are included, but girls and women are not; nor boys born from the making of one register of lands to another. Now if we only treble the number of heads liable to be taxed, including women and girls, we shall find near twenty millions of souls.

To this number may be added the military list, which amounts to three hundred and fifty thousand men. Besides, neither the nobility or the clergy, who are estimated at two hundred thousand, are subject to this capitation. Foreigners in the empire are also exempted from this tax, let them be of what profession or country they may. The inhabitants of the conquered provinces, namely, Livonia, Estonia, Ingria, Carelia, and a part of Finland; the Ukraine, the Cossacks of Tanaïs, the Calmucks and other Tartars, the Samoiedes, the Laplanders, the Ostiacks, and all the idolatrous people of Siberia, a country greater than China itself, are not comprized in this register.

By this calculation it is impossible, that the total of the inhabitants of Russia should amount to less than twenty-four millions. By this computation, there are eight persons to every square mile. The English ambassador, whom I before mentioned, reckons only five; but he certainly had not such faithful memoirs, as those with which I have been favoured.

Russia is then, in proportion to its size, exactly five times less populous than Spain, though it contains near four times the number of its inhabitants: it is almost as populous as France and Germany; but, considering its vast extent, the number of its inhabitants is three and thirty times less.

There is one important remark to make in regard to this enumeration; which is, that out of six millions, six hundred and forty thousand people liable to pay the poll-tax, there are about nine hundred thousand belonging to the clergy of Russia; among which, neither
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the clergy of the conquered countries, nor those of the Ukraine or Siberia, are included.

Thus out of seven persons liable to pay the poll-tax, the clergy have one; but in possessing this seventh, they do not possess the seventh part of the revenues of the state, as in many other kingdoms, where the clergy have at least a seventh of all estates; for their peasants pay a capitation to the sovereign, and there are other revenues belonging to the crown of Russia, in which they have no share.

This valuation is very different from that of every writer, who has made mention of Russia: the foreign ministers who have sent memoirs to their sovereigns, have been all mistaken. They should have searched into the archives of the empire.

It is very probable, that Russia has been much better peopled than it is at present; before the small-pox, that came from the extremities of Arabia, and the great pox, that came from America, had made such ravages in these climates, in which they have now taken root. These two scourges, by which the world has been more depopulated than even by war, are owing, the one to Mahomet, and the other to Christopher Columbus. The plague, which originally came from Africa, seldom reached the northern countries. Besides, as the people of the north, from the Sarmatians to the Tartars on the other side the great wall, have overspread the world by their irruptions, this ancient nursery of mankind must be greatly diminished.

In this vast extent of country, they reckon about seven thousand four hundred monks, and five thousand six hundred nuns, notwithstanding the care Peter the Great took to reduce them to a smaller number; a care worthy of the legislator of an empire, where its principal want is that of inhabitants. These thirteen thousand people thus cloistered and lost to the state, have (as the reader may have remarked) seven hundred and twenty thousand bondmen to cultivate their lands, which is evidently too great a number. This abuse, which is so common, and has been so fatal to many

nations, was not corrected till the reign of the empress Catherine the Second. She has ventured to take the part of nature and religion, by taking from the clergy and monks their riches; these she pays out of the publick treasure: thus she has made them useful, by preventing them from being dangerous.

I find, by the state of the finances of the empire in 1725, that reckoning the tribute of the Tartars, with all duties and taxes in money, the sum total came to thirteen millions of rubles which makes sixty-five millions of French livres, independent of tributes in kind. This moderate sum, then sufficed to maintain three hundred and thirty-nine thousand, five hundred men, as well by sea as by land. Since that time, both the revenues and troops are increased.

The customs, dress, and manners of the Russians, had always a greater resemblance to the inhabitants of Asia, than to those of Europe: such was the ancient customs of receiving tributes in kind; of defraying the expences of ambassadors on their journies, and during their stay in the country; and of never appearing in church, or before the throne with a sword; an oriental custom, opposed to our ridiculous and barbarous manner of speaking to God, to our kings, to our friends, and to our women, with an offensive weapon, which hangs down to the bottom of the leg. The long rob worn on publick days, had a nobler appearance than the short dress of the western nations of Europe. A tunick turned with fur, with a long scimar enriched with jewels, for solemn days, and a sort of high turban, which added to their stature, were much more pleasing to the eye, than our perukes and close coats, as well as more suitable to cold climates; but this ancient dress of all nations, seems less calculated for war, and less convenient for labour. Almost all their other customs were rustick, but we must not figure to ourselves, that their manners were so barbarous, as many writers have asserted. Albert Krantz tells us of an Italian ambassador, whose hat was nailed on his head by order of the czar, because he did not pull it off whilst he was making a speech

speech to him. Others attribute this adventure to a Tartar; and others again to a French ambassador.

Olearius pretends, that the czar Michael Federovitz, banished into Siberia one marquis Exideuil, ambassador from Henry IV. king of France; but it is certain, that this monarch never sent an ambassador to Moscow *. Thus do travellers speak of the country of Borandia, a place which never existed; of trading with the people of New Zembla, which is scarcely inhabited; and of their long conversation with the Samoides, as if they understood the language. Were we to clear the enormous compilations of voyages of every thing that was neither true or useful, both the works and the publick would gain by it.

The Russian government resembled that of the Turks in regard to the guards called strelitzes, who, like the janissaries, sometimes disposed of the throne, and troubled the state almost as much as they defended it. These strelitzes were forty thousand in number. Those who were dispersed in the provinces subsisted by plunder; those in Moscow lived like burghers, trading, doing no duty, and carrying their insolence to the greatest excess. To establish order in Russia, it became necessary to break them, a thing as dangerous as it was indispensable.

The revenue of the state did not amount to more than five millions of rubles (about twenty-five millions of French livres.) This was sufficient, when Peter came to the crown, to maintain the ancient mediocrity, but was not a third of what was necessary to improve, and render himself and people considerable in Europe: but at the same time, great part of the duties were paid in kind, according to the custom of the Turks; a custom, which is less burthensome to the people, than that of paying their tributes in money.

* See the Preface.

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§14 HISTORY of the EMPIRE of RUSSIA,

The TITLE of CZAR.

As to the title of czar, it may possibly come from the tzars or tchars of the kingdom of Casan. When the sovereign of Russia, John or Ivan Basilides, conquered this kingdom in the sixteenth century, which had been subdued before by his grandfather and afterwards lost, he took this title, and it has since devolved to his successors. Before John Basilides, the masters of Russia bore the name of *veliki knèz*, *great prince*, *great lord*, *great chief*; which Christian nations have rendered into that of great duke. The czar Michael Federovitz, at the time of the Holstein embassy, took to himself the titles of "*Great lord and knèz, confederator of all the Russias, prince of Wolodimer, Moscow, Novogorod, &c. tzar of Casan, tzar of Astracan, and tzar of Siberia.*" This title of tzar then belonged to those oriental princes; it is therefore more probable, it is derived from the *Tshas* of Persia, than from the Cæsars of Rome, whose name very likely had never reached the Siberian tzars on the banks of the Oby.

A mere title is nothing, unless those who bear that title, are of themselves noble. The name of *emperor*, which only signified a *general of an army*, became the title of the masters of the Roman republick: and it is at this day given to the sovereigns of all the Russias; a title more justly bestowed on them than on other potentates, if we consider the power and extent of their dominions,

RELIGION.

The religion of this country since the eleventh century, has been what we call the Greek church, in opposition to the Latin: but there were always a greater number of Mahometan and Pagan provinces, than those inhabited by Christians. Siberia, as far as China, was in a state of idolatry; and in more provinces than one, every species of religion was unknown.

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Perry the engineer, and baron Strahlemberg, who were so long in Russia, say, that they found more sincerity and probity among the Pagans, than the other inhabitants: not that Paganism rendered them more virtuous; but leading a pastoral life, far from the commerce of mankind, and living in the manner of the primitive ages, exempt from every extravagant passion, they were naturally good men.

Christianity was not received into Russia till very late, as has been the case with all the countries of the north. They pretend, that a princess named *Olba* introduced it here at the end of the tenth century, in the same manner as Clotilda caused it to be received among the Franks; the wife of one Micislaus duke of Poland, among the Poles; and the sister of the emperor Henry the Second, among the Hungarians. It has been the fate of the women to be sensible to the persuasions of the ministers of religion, and to persuade the rest of mankind.

This princess *Olba*, we are further informed, caused herself to be baptized at Constantinople, when she took the name of Helena; and that as soon as she became a Christian, the emperor, John Zimisces, became enamoured of her. It is very likely she was a widow, yet she would not listen to the emperor. The example of the princess *Olba*, or *Olga*, did not at first produce a great number of profelytes; her son*, who reigned a long time, was not of the same way of thinking as his mother; but her grandson Wolodimer, who was born of a concubine, having assassinated his brother that he might gain the throne, courted the alliance of Basil, emperor of Constantinople, and could obtain it only on condition that he would submit to baptism; this happened in the year 987, the epocha when the Greek religion was first established in Russia. A patriarch of Constantinople, named *Chrysoberg*, sent a bishop to baptize Wolodimer, that he might add to his patriarchal see this part of the world †.

* He was called Sowastollaw.

† Taken from a private manuscript, entitled, "Of the Ecclesiastical Government of Russia."

Wolodimer therefore finished the work began by his grandmother. A Greek was the first metropolitan or patriarch of Russia. Hence it is, that the Russians have adopted in their language an alphabet partly derived from the Greek; by this they would have been gainers, if the fundamental rules of their own language, which is the Sclavonick, had not remained, excepting a few words, respecting their liturgy and hierarchy. One of the Greek patriarchs named Jeremiah, having a cause to be tried before the divan, went to Moscow to implore assistance; where, at last, he renounced his pretended authority over the Russian churches; and in 1588, consecrated patriarch Job archbishop of Novogorod. From that time, the Russian church has been as independent as the empire. The patriarch of Russia has ever since been consecrated by Russian bishops, and not by the patriarch of Constantinople: he is ranked in the Greek church next to the patriarch of Jerusalem, but is in fact the only free and powerful patriarch, and consequently the only real one. Those of Jerusalem, Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria, are only mercenary chiefs of a church enslaved by the Turks. Even those of Antioch and Jerusalem, are no more regarded as patriarchs, and have no more credit, than the rabbies of the synagogues established in Turkey.

It was from a man, who became patriarch of all the Russias, that Peter the Great descended in a right line. These new prelates soon wanted to partake of the authority of the czars. It was not enough that the sovereign walked bareheaded every year before the patriarch, leading his horse by the bridle. These exterior marks of respect, only served to increase their thirst for power. This lust of dominion, is the cause of many troubles in other nations.

The patriarch Ninon, whom they regarded as a saint, and who enjoyed that see in the reign of Alexis, the father of Peter the Great, wanted to raise the patriarchal dignity above the throne; for he not only usurped the privilege of sitting in the senate by the side of the czar, but
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he pretended, that neither peace nor war could be made without his consenting thereto. His authority being supported by his wealth and his intrigues, by the clergy and the people, he held his master in a kind of subjection. He even dared to excommunicate some senators, who had opposed his insolence; till at length, Alexis finding himself not powerful enough to depose him by his own authority, was obliged to convoke a synod of all the bishops. There he was accused of having received money of the Poles: and being convicted was deposed, and confined for the rest of his life in a cloister, and the prelates elected another patriarch.

There has ever been from the first foundation of Christianity in Russia several sects, as there are in other countries, for sects are as often the fruits of ignorance as of pretended knowledge. But Russia is the only extensive state in which religion has not occasioned civil wars, though it has been productive of some tumults.

The sect of the Raskolnikys, which at present consists of about two thousand males, and of which mention is made in the register, is the most ancient; it was established in the twelfth century, by some zealots who had a slight knowledge of the New Testament; they had, and still have, the pretensions of other sectaries, that of following the letter of the gospel, and accusing all other Christians of remissness: they will not suffer a priest who has drank brandy, to confer baptism; they are persuaded, that with Christ there is neither a first nor a last among the faithful; and above all, that a Christian may kill himself for the love of his Saviour. It is with them a great sin to say hallelujah three times, they must only say it twice; and they give the benediction with only three fingers. In other respects, there is no society that is more regular or severe in their manners: they live like Quakers, but do not, like them, admit other Christians into their assemblies; this has been the reason, why other sects have imputed to them all the abominations, of which the Pagans accused

cused the Primitive-Galileans, the Primitive-Galileans the Gnosticks, and with which the Roman Catholicks have charged the Protestants. They have been often charged with cutting a child's throat, and drinking its blood; and of mixing together in their secret ceremonies, without distinction of kindred, age, or even of sex. Sometimes they have been persecuted, when they have shut themselves up in their villages, set fire to their houses, and threw themselves into the flames. Peter took the only method to reclaim them, which was the letting them live in peace.

As for the rest, there are but eight and twenty episcopal sees in Russia, notwithstanding the empire is so extensive; and in the time of Peter there were but twenty-two: this small number was, perhaps, one of the reasons why the Russian church remained in peace. Besides, the clergy were so ignorant, that czar Theodore, the brother of Peter the Great, was the first who introduced the singing by notes in their churches.

Theodore, and especially Peter, admitted persons, whether of the Greek, Latin, Lutheran, or Calvinist persuasion, indiscriminately into their armies and councils: leaving every one at liberty to serve God after his own conscience, provided the business of the state was well executed. In this great empire of two thousand leagues, there was not a single Latin church, until Peter had established some new manufactories at Astracan; when there were about sixty Roman Catholick families under the direction of the Capuchins; but when the Jesuits wanted to introduce themselves into his dominions, Peter drove them out, by an edict published in the month of April 1718. He permitted the Capuchins to remain, looking on them as insignificant friars, but he regarded the Jesuits as dangerous politicians. These Jesuits were established in Russia in 1685, and were expelled four years after; they again returned, and were again driven thence.

The Greek church has the satisfaction to see its communion extended in an empire of two thousand leagues, while that of Rome has not half that extent of land in Europe.

Europe. The followers of the Greek ritual, have ever wished to preserve the equality between theirs and the Latins: and have always been jealous of the zeal of the church of Rome, which they take for ambition; because, in fact, the Latin church being much confined in our hemisphere, and calling herself universal, has always endeavoured to act up to that great title.

There has never been any establishment in Russia for the Jews, as there has been in many states in Europe, from Constantinople to Rome. The Russians have always carried on their trade among themselves, and with the different nations that are settled in their empire; Theirs is the only country of the Greek communion, in which synagogues are not to be seen by the side of the Christian temples.

Continuation of the STATE of RUSSIA, before PETER the Great.

Russia is entirely indebted to Peter the Great for its great influence in the affairs of Europe, it having been of no consideration in any other reign, from the time it first embraced Christianity. Before this period, the Russians made the same figure on the Black Sea, as the Normans did afterwards on the coasts of the ocean. In the reign of Heraclius, they fitted out four thousand small barks, in order to lay siege to Constantinople; and to impose a tribute on the Greek emperors. But the grand knez Wolodimer, wholly taken up with the care of introducing Christianity among his people, and fatigued with the intestine broils of his own family, weakened his dominions by dividing them among his children. They almost all fell a prey to the Tartars, who held Russia in subjection for two hundred years. John Basilides delivered it, and added to its extent; but after his time, it was again ruined by civil wars.

Before the reign of Peter the Great, Russia was not so powerful, nor the lands so well cultivated; neither was it so populous, or the revenue so rich as at present. It had no possessions in Finland, nor Livonia; and Li-

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vonian alone had been long worth more than all Siberia. The Cossacks were not subdued; the people of Astracan were not quite obedient; and what little commerce they had, tended greatly to their disadvantage. The White Sea, the Baltick, the Euxine, the Asoph and the Caspian Sea, were entirely useless to a nation, that had not a single ship, and whose language had not a term to express a fleet. If it had been only necessary to excel the Tartars and the people of the north as far as China, the Russians certainly then enjoyed this advantage; but they were to be brought on an equality with polished nations, and to be in a condition one day of even surpassing several of them. Such an enterprize appeared impracticable, as there was not a single ship on the sea, and they were absolutely ignorant of military discipline by land; the most common manufactures were scarcely encouraged, and agriculture itself, which is the *primum mobile* of trade, was totally neglected. This requires every attention and encouragement of government; and it is to this the English are indebted, for finding in their corn, a treasure far superior to that of their woollen manufacture.

This neglect of the improvement of the necessary arts, is sufficient to shew, that they had not an idea of the polite arts, which became necessary in their turn, when the rest are attained. They might have sent several of the natives to gain instruction among foreigners; but the difference of language, manners and religion, opposed it. Besides, a law of the state and religion, equally sacred and pernicious, prohibited any Russian from going out of his country, and thus seemed to condemn them to an eternal ignorance. They were in possession of the most extensive dominions in the universe, and yet had every improvement to make. At last, Peter was born, and Russia was polished.

Happily, of all the great lawgivers in the world, Peter is the only one whose history is well known. Those of the Theseus's, of the Romulus's, whose exploits were far inferior to his, and those of the founders of all civilized states, are blended with absurd fables; whereas
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here, we have the advantage of writing truths, which would pass for fables, were they not well attested.

CHAP. III.

Of the Ancestors of PETER the GREAT.

THE family of Peter the Great, have been seated on the throne ever since the year 1613. Before that time, Russia had undergone a series of revolutions, which had retarded her reformation, and the establishment of the liberal arts. This has been the fate of every human society. But never did any kingdom experience more troubles. In the year 1597, the tyrant Boris Godonow, caused the rightful heir Demetri, or as we call it Demetrius, to be assassinated, and usurped the empire. A young monk upon this took the name of Demetrius, and pretending he was that prince, who had escaped from assassins, with the assistance of the Poles, and a great party, such as tyrants always have against them, he drove out the usurper, and seated himself on the throne. As soon as he became sovereign, the imposture was detected, because the people were discontented with him, and he was assassinated. After this three other false Demetrius's started up successively. Such a train of impostors supposes a country in every disorder. The less men are civilized, the more easy they are to be imposed on. One may easily judge, how far these frauds tended to augment the public confusion and unhappiness. The Poles, who had begun the revolutions, by establishing the first false Demetrius, were on the point of reigning in Russia. The Swedes partook of the spoils on the side of Finland, and also made pretensions to the throne; thus was the state threatened with total ruin.

In the midst of these disorders, in the year 1613, an assembly, consisting of the principal boyards, elected for their sovereign a young man of fifteen years of age,

which did not appear a very likely method to put an end to their troubles. This young man was Michael Romanow, grandfather of the czar Peter, and the son of the archbishop of Rostow, surnamed Philaretus, and of a nun; and allied by the mother's side to the ancient czars.

It is necessary to know, that this archbishop was a powerful lord, whom the tyrant Boris had compelled to become priest. His wife Scheremetow was likewise forced to take the veil; this was an ancient custom of the western tyrants of the Latin church, as was the putting out of the eyes, that of the Greek Christians. The tyrant Demetrius conferred on Philaretus the archbishoprick of Rostow, and sent him ambassador into Poland. The Poles being at that time at war with the Russians, they imprisoned their ambassador, so little was the law of nations known to any of these people. During his confinement, the young Romanow, son of the archbishop, was elected czar. His father being exchanged for some Polish prisoners, the young czar created him patriarch, though he was in fact the sovereign, under the son's name.

If such a government appears singular to strangers, the marriage of the czar Michael Romanow must seem more so. The Russian monarchs did not chuse their wives from among other nations from the year 1490. It seems that after they became masters of Casan and Astracan, they followed the Asiatick customs almost in every thing, and particularly in that of marrying only among their own subjects.

What resembled still more the ancient customs of Asia, was, that when the czar was about to marry, the most beautiful women of the provinces were sent for to court; the grand governante of the court received them into her own house, and provided them separate apartments, though they all eat together. Here the czar saw them, either under a feigned name, or without disguise. The day of marriage was fixed, without his choice being made known; and on the day appointed, a wedding-suit was presented to her, on whom the choice

choice had secretly fell, and the other clothes were distributed to the rest of the fair candidates, who returned to their respective homes. There have been four examples of such marriages in this country.

It was in this manner that Michael Romanow espoused Eudocia, the daughter of a poor gentleman, named Streschnew; who was cultivating his grounds with his servants, when the lords of the bed-chamber, that were sent by the czar with presents to him, apprized him that his daughter was seated on the throne. The name of this princess is still dear to Russia. All this is different from our customs, yet it is not the less respectable.

It is necessary to observe, that before the election of Romanow, a considerable party had elected prince Ladislaus, the son of Sigismund III. king of Poland; while the provinces bordering on Sweden, offered the crown to a brother of Gustavus Adolphus: thus was Russia in the same situation, in which we have so often seen Poland, where the right of electing a monarch has been the source of civil wars. But the Russians did not imitate the Poles, who made a contract with the king they elected. Notwithstanding they had experienced tyranny, they submitted to a young man, without exacting any conditions from him.

Russia had never been an elective kingdom; but the male-line of their ancient sovereigns being extinct, and six czars, or pretenders, having unhappily perished in the late troubles, it became necessary, as we have seen, to elect a monarch; which election occasioned fresh wars with Poland and Sweden, who both fought for their pretended rights to the throne of Russia; but this right of governing a nation against its will, can never be long supported. The Poles, on one side, after having advanced as far as Moscow, and having pillaged as they went, which was then the custom of military expeditions, concluded a truce of fourteen years. Poland, by this truce, remained in possession of the duchy of Smolensko, in which the Boristhenes has its source. The Swedes also made peace, and were left in possession

session of Ingria, whereby they deprived the Russians of all communication with the Baltick Sea, so that this empire was more than ever separated from the rest of Europe.

After making this peace, Michael Romanow reigned with tranquillity, and did not make any change in the state, which tended, either to the corruption or perfection of the administration. After his death, which was in 1645, his son Alexis Michaelowitz, or the son of Michael, at the age of sixteen years, reigned by hereditary right. It may be observed, that the czars were crowned by the patriarch, after the manner of some of the ceremonies in use at Constantinople; excepting that the patriarch was seated on the same seat with the sovereign, and always affected an equality repugnant to the supreme power.

ALEXIS MICHAELOWITZ, the son of MICHAEL.

Alexis was married in the same manner as his father, and chose from among the young women presented, the one that appeared to him the most amiable. He espoused one of the two daughters of Miloslavski, in 1647, and was afterwards, in the year 1671, married to a lady of the family of Nariskin. The other daughter was wedded to his favourite Morosow. To this favourite we cannot give a more suitable title than that of vizir; for he was despotic in the empire, and by his power excited revolutions among the strelitzes and the people, as frequently happens at Constantinople.

The reign of Alexis was disturbed by bloody seditions, and by intestine and foreign wars. A chief of the Cossacks of Tanais, wanted to make himself king of Astracan; he for a long time spread terror through the country, but was at last conquered and taken; when he died by the hands of the executioner, like all those of this stamp, who are sure to meet either with a throne or a scaffold. About twelve thousand of his adherents are said to have been hanged on the high road to Astracan. In this part of the world, man was less governed

verned by the laws of morality than by the fear of punishments; and from such rigorous punishments arose servitude, and the secret thirst of revenge.

Alexis had a war with the Poles, which was successful, and terminated in a peace, that secured to him the possession of Smolensko, Kiow, and the Ukraine: but he was unfortunate against the Swedes, the boundaries of the empire being always very much contracted on the side of Sweden.

The Turks were at this time the most to be dreaded; they had invaded Poland, and menaced the territories of the czar, bordering on Crim Tartary, the ancient Taurica Chersonesus. In 1671, they took the important town of Kaminiek, and all that belonged to the Poles in the Ukraine. The Cossacks of that country, ever averse to subjection, knew not whether they belonged to Turkey, Poland, or Russia. The sultan Mahomet IV. the conqueror of the Poles, and who had imposed a tribute on them, demanded with all the arrogance of an Ottoman and a conqueror, that the czar would evacuate all his possessions in the Ukraine, but received as haughty a refusal. They knew not how at that time to disguise their pride, by an outward shew of civility. The sultan, in his letter, treated the sovereign of the Russians, only as a Christian hospodar; and entitled himself "most glorious majesty, king of the whole universe." The czar answered, "that he was not born to submit to a Mahometan dog, and that his scimeter was as good as the sabre of the grand seignior."

Alexis, at that time, formed a design, which seemed to presage the influence which Russia would one day have in the Christian world. He sent ambassadors to the pope, and to almost all the great sovereigns of Europe, except to France, who was allied to the Turks, to endeavour to form a league against the Ottoman Porte. His ambassadors at Rome succeeded only in not being obliged to kiss the pope's toe; and in the other courts they obtained only unprofitable good wishes; the quarrels of the Christian princes, and the jarring

jarring interest arising from those very quarrels, constantly putting it out of their power to unite against the common enemy of Christianity.

The Turks, in the mean time, were denouncing vengeance on Poland, who refused to pay the tribute. The czar Alexis supported it on the side of Crim Tartary, and the general of the crown, John Sobiesky, washed off his country's stain, with the blood of the Turks, at the celebrated battle of Choksim, which paved his way
1674- to the throne. Alexis disputed the throne with him, and proposed to unite his vast dominions to Poland, in the same manner as the Jagellons had joined Lithuania; but the greatness of the offer was the reason of its being rejected. He is said to have been deserving of this new kingdom, from the manner in which he governed his own. He was the first who digested a code of laws, though but imperfect: he introduced linen and silk manufactures, which, though not long kept up, he had the merit of establishing. He peopled the deserts towards the Wolga and the Kama, with Lithuanian, Polish, and Tartarian families, whom he had taken prisoners in his wars; before this, the prisoners were the slaves of those to whose lot they fell: Alexis employed them in cultivating the lands; he also, as far as he was able, disciplined his armies; in short, he was worthy of being the father of Peter the Great, but had not time to perfect any thing he began; a sudden death snatched him away at the age of forty-six, in the beginning of the year 1677, according to our style, which is always eleven days before that of Russia.

FOEDOR, or THEODORE ALEXOWITZ.

Upon the death of Alexis, the son of Michael, every thing was again thrown into confusion. He left by his first wife two princes and six princesses. Foedor, or Theodore, the eldest, ascended the throne at the age of fifteen; he was a prince of a weak and sickly constitution,

stitution, but of merit superior to his bodily infirmities. Alexis, his father, had named him for his successor a year before his death. This was a custom observed by the kings of France, from Hugh Capet down to Lewis the younger, and by many other sovereigns.

The second son of Alexis, was Ivan, or John, who was still worse treated by nature than his brother Fœdor; he being almost deprived of sight and speech, as well as health, and was often attacked with convulsions. Of the six daughters born of the first marriage, the only one celebrated in Europe was the princess Sophia, who was distinguished by the endowments of her mind, but unhappily still better known by the mischiefs she intended against Peter the Great.

Alexis, by his second marriage with another of his subjects, the daughter of the boyard Nariskin, had Peter and the princess Nathalia. Peter was born the 30th of May, or, according to the new style, the 10th of June, in the year 1672, and was hardly four years and a half old when he lost his father. As the children of a second marriage are seldom beloved, it was not expected that he would one day reign.

The mind of the family of Romanow was always turned towards civilizing the state: such was the character of Theodore. We have already observed, when speaking of Moscow, that he encouraged the citizens to build a number of stone-houses. He likewise enlarged that capital, which is indebted to him for several regulations in regard to the general police. But by endeavouring to reform the boyards, he alienated their affections from him. And indeed, he had neither experience, activity, or resolution sufficient to venture on making a general reformation. Besides, the war with the Turks, or rather with the Crim Tartars, which still continued with alternate success, would not permit a prince of such a feeble constitution, to undertake so great a work. Theodore, after the manner of his predecessors, married one of his subjects, a native of the frontiers of Poland; and losing her about a year after, he took for his second wife, in 1682, Martha Matweowna,

daughter to the secretary Apraxin. A few months after this marriage he was seized with a disorder of which he died, but left no issue. As the czars married without regard to birth, they might also chuse (at least at that time) a successor, without regard to primogeniture. The dignity of consort, and heir to the sovereign, seemed to be entirely the reward of merit; and in that respect, the custom of this empire was far superior to the customs of more civilized states.

Theodore, before he expired, seeing that his brother John, on account of his natural infirmities, was incapable of reigning, he named his second brother, Peter, the heir to the empire of the Russians; who, though he was but ten years old, had already given the most promising hopes.

If the custom of raising subjects to the rank of czarina was favourable to the women, there was another custom equally hard upon them, which was, that the daughters of the czars seldom married, but were most of them obliged to pass their lives in a monastery.

The princess Sophia, the third daughter of czar Alexis by his first marriage, was possessed of abilities as superior as dangerous; perceiving that her brother Theodore had not long to live, she did not retire to a convent; and finding herself situated between two brothers, who were incapable of governing, the one from his incapacity, and the other from his infancy, she conceived the design of placing herself at the head of the empire. Thus, in the last hours of the czar Theodore, did she want to re-act the part, Pulcheria had formerly played with her brother, the emperor Theodosius.

C H A P. IV.

John and Peter. Horrible Sedition among the Strelitzes.

HARDLY was Theodore expired *, but the nomination of a prince of ten years old to the throne, the exclusion of the elder brother, and the intrigues of the princess Sophia their sister, excited one of the most bloody revolts among the strelitzes. Never did the janissaries or the prætorian guards behave with so much barbarity. Two days after the funeral obsequies of czar Theodore, they ran armed to the Cremmelin, which, as we have before observed, is the palace of the czars of Moscow; where they began with complaining of nine of their colonels, for not paying them regularly. The ministry upon this were obliged to break the colonels, and to give to the strelitzes the money they asked. The soldiers were not contented with this, they insisted upon the nine officers being delivered up, and condemned them, by a plurality of voices, to a punishment which they called the batogs; a punishment they inflict in the following manner:

They strip the criminal quite naked, lay him flat on his belly, and two executioners beat him over the back with switches, till the judge says, "that's enough." The colonels thus treated by their soldiers, were notwithstanding obliged to thank them, according to the eastern customs; where criminals, after they have been punished, are obliged to kiss the hands of their judges; the officers besides thanking them, gave them a purse of money, which was not a part of the custom.

While the strelitzes thus began to render themselves terrible, the princess Sophia, who privately encouraged them, convoked an assembly at her own house, of all the princesses of the blood, of the generals of the army,

* Extracted wholly from the memoirs sent from Moscow and Petersburg.

the boyards, the patriarch, the bishops, and even of the principal merchants: when she represented to them, that prince John, both by his seniority and merit, ought to rule the empire, the reins of which she secretly hoped to keep in her own hands. At the breaking up of the assembly, she exacted a promise to the *strelitzes* of an augmentation of their pay, together with some presents. Besides this, she had emissaries who were stirring up the soldiery against the *Nariskin* family; and particularly against the two brothers of the young czarina dowager, the mother of Peter the First. These persuaded the *strelitzes*, that one of the brothers named John, had put on the imperial robes, had seated himself on the throne, and attempted to strangle prince John: and moreover added, that a Dutch physician named Daniel Vongad, had poisoned the czar Theodore. At last Sophia put into the hands of the *strelitzes* a list, consisting of forty noblemen, whom she called their enemies, and the enemies of the state, and who therefore merited death. Nothing can more resemble the proscriptions of Sylla, and of the triumvirates of Rome, which Christian the Second had renewed in Denmark and Sweden. We may perceive by this, that such calamities prevail in every country in times of anarchy and confusion.

They began the tragedy, by throwing the knezes *Dolgorouki* and *Masseu* * out of the windows; the *strelitzes* received them on the point of their spears, and after stripping them, dragged them to the great square; they then entered the palace, where they found *Athanasius Nariskin*, one of the uncles of czar Peter, and brother to the young czarina, whom they massacred in the same manner; after this they forced open the door of a neighbouring church, where three of the proscribed noblemen had taken refuge, whom they immediately dragged from the altar, stripped, and put to the sword.

They were so blinded with their fury, that seeing a young nobleman of the house of *Soltikoff*, whom they

* Or *Matheoff*, in the French language *Matheu*.

really

really loved, and who was not included in the list of the proscribed, and some of them taking him for John Nariskin, whom they were in search of, they killed him on the spot. But what plainly shews the manners of those times, when they discovered their error, they carried the body of young Soltikoff to his father, that he might bury it; and the unhappy parent, so far from daring to complain, gave them a reward for bringing him the bloody body of his son. His wife, daughters, and the widow of the deceased, in a flood of tears, reproached him for his weakness. "*Let us wait for the time to be revenged,*" said the old man; which words some of the soldiers hearing, they furiously returned into the chamber, dragged the aged parent by the hair, and cut his throat at the door of his own house.

Some of the other strelitzes were searching every where for the Dutch physician Vongad; in their way they encountered his son, and asked him where his father was; and upon the young man's answering he did not know, they instantly cut his throat. Soon after they met with a German physician; "You are a physician," said they; "and if you have not poisoned our master Theodore, you have poisoned others, and therefore richly deserve death." With which words they killed him.

At last they found the Dutchman they were looking for, who was disguised as a beggar, and dragged him before the palace: the princesses who loved this good man, and who had great confidence in him, begged hard for his life; assuring the strelitzes that he was a very skilful physician, and had taken great care of their brother Theodore. The strelitzes answered, that he not only merited death as a physician, but also as a forcerer; for that they had found in his house a great dried toad, and the skin of a serpent. They likewise added, that young John Nariskin must absolutely be delivered up to them; that they had searched for him in vain for two days; that he was certainly concealed in the palace, and that if he was not immediately

ately delivered up to them, they would set it on fire. The sister of John Nariskin, and the other princesses, terrified at this, went to the place where their brother lay concealed; the patriarch heard his confession, and gave him the viaticum and extreme unction; he afterwards took an image of the blessed virgin, which was said to perform miracles; and taking the young man by the hand, he advanced towards the strelitzes, shewing them the image of the virgin. The princesses in tears surrounded Nariskin, and throwing themselves on their knees before the soldiers, conjured them in the name of the blessed virgin, to save their relation's life; notwithstanding which, the soldiers tore him from their arms, and dragged him to the bottom of the stair-case, together with Vongad; there they formed among themselves a kind of tribunal, and condemned Nariskin and the physician to the torture. One of the soldiers who could write, drew up an indictment, and the two unfortunate persons were condemned to be cut in pieces; a punishment inflicted in China and Tartary, which is called the ten thousand slices. After having thus treated Nariskin and Vongad, they exposed their heads, feet, and hands, on the iron points of a balustrade.

While they were thus satiating their fury in the presence of the princesses, another party massacred every one that was odious to them, or suspected by Sophia.

This horrid tragedy was finished, with proclaiming John and Peter joint sovereigns, and associating their sister Sophia with them, in quality of co-regent. She then publickly approved of all their outrages, conferred rewards on them, confiscated the estates of the proscribed, and gave them to their murderers; and permitted them to erect a monument, on which was engraved the names of the persons massacred, as traitors to their country; and lastly, she published letters-patent, thanking them for their zeal and fidelity.

C H A P. V. *

Administration of the Princess Sophia. Singular religious Dispute. Conspiracy.

WE have seen the manner in which the princess Sophia ascended the throne of Russia, without being proclaimed czarina, and what were the first examples Peter the First had before his eyes. Sophia enjoyed all the honours of a sovereign; her bust was on the coin, her signature was affixed to all the dispatches, she presided in the council, and in a word, possessed the supreme authority. This princess had a considerable share of genius, she even composed verses in the Russian language, and wrote and spoke well; an agreeable figure served, as it were, to heighten these talents; her ambition alone tarnished them.

She disposed of her brother John in marriage, according to the custom of which we have seen so many examples. A young person of the name of Soltikoff, a relation of the Soltikoff who had been assassinated by the strelitzes, was sent for from the middle of Siberia (where her father had the command of a fortress) and presented to the czar John at Moscow. Her beauty proved superior to the intrigues of her rivals. John espoused her in 1684. It would seem as if at every marriage of a czar, we were reading the history of Ahasuerus, or that of Theodosius II.

In the midst of the rejoicings on account of this marriage, the strelitzes excited a fresh sedition; and who would have thought it? It was upon account of religion, for an article of faith. If they had been mere soldiers, they would certainly never have engaged in theological controversy; but they were citizens of Moscow. From the remotest corner of the Indies, to the extremities of Europe, whosoever has, or assumes a right of speaking

* The whole of this chapter is taken from papers sent from St. Peterburgh. V.

with authority to the populace, may be the founder of a sect. The truth of this has been experienced in every age; but above all, since the passion for dogmatizing is become the instrument of the bold and ambitious, and the terror of the weak and ignorant.

There had been seditions in Russia, at a time when it was disputed, whether the benediction ought to be given with three fingers or with two. An archpriest of the name of Abakum, had delivered particular doctrines at Moscow concerning the Holy Spirit; which, according to the gospel, ought to enlighten every true believer; and concerning the equality of the primitive Christians, founded upon the words of our Saviour, "There shall be amongst you neither first nor last." Several of the citizens and strelitzes embraced the opinions of Abakum; and his party, headed by one Raspop, became considerable; at length * the sectaries entered the cathedral where the patriarch and his clergy were officiating; and after driving out him and his attendants with stones, seated themselves in their places, with great devotion, in order to receive the Holy Ghost. They spoke of the patriarch as a ravenous wolf in the sheepfold; an epithet, that persons of different sects have at all times been very liberal in bestowing upon each other. The princess Sophia, and the two young czars, were soon informed of these disorders; and the strelitzes, who remained firm to the old doctrines, were told that the czars and the church were in danger. The patriarch's party, consisting of strelitzes and citizens, soon fell upon the Abakumites; but the carnage was suspended the moment they were told that the dispute was to be referred to a council, which was accordingly convened for this purpose in an apartment of the palace: this convocation took up but very little time, as they collected together all the priests they could meet with. The patriarch and a bishop disputed against Raspop, and at the second syllogism, the disputants pelted each other with stones. The coun-

July 16th, N. S. 1682.

cil ended with beheading Raspop and several of his disciples, by the authority of the three sovereigns, Sophia, John, and Peter.

During this scene of confusion, Choranskoy, a nobleman who had assisted in raising the princess Sophia to the throne, wanted, as a reward for his services, to have a share in the government. The princess, as may be well supposed, proved ungrateful. Choranskoy, in revenge, commenced devotee, and espoused the cause of the persecuted Raspopites. For this purpose he stirred up a number of the strelitzes and populace in the name of God. This conspiracy was of a more serious complexion than the enthusiasm of Raspop. An ambitious hypocrite is always more formidable than a simple fanatic. Choranskoy's pretensions were to nothing less than the empire; and, in order to remove at once every obstacle to his ambition, he resolved to assassinate not only the two czars, and Sophia, but likewise the other princesses; and, in short, all who were attached to the family on the throne. The czars and the princesses were obliged to retire to a monastery, situated twelve leagues from Moscow. This retreat, which was dedicated to the Holy Trinity, was at once a convent, a palace, and a fortress, like mount Cassino, Corbie, Fulde, Kempten, and many others amongst the Christians of the Latin church. This monastery belongs to monks of the order of St. Basil: it is surrounded by deep moats, and a rampart of brick, furnished with a numerous artillery. The monks possessed a circuit of country four leagues in extent. The imperial family was here in safety, but more on account of the strength than the sanctity of the place. Sophia negotiated from hence with the rebel, and having enticed him half way, caused his head to be struck off. One of his sons, and thirty-seven strelitzes who accompanied him, were treated in the same manner.

The body of strelitzes were no sooner informed of what had passed, than they prepared to march towards the convent, threatening to destroy all who were in it. The imperial family prepared themselves for the attack;

tack; the boyards armed their vassals; the nobility assembled from every quarter, and every appearance seemed to threaten a bloody civil war. The patriarch appeased the strelitzes a little; the troops that marched against them on every side intimidated them; they passed, in short, from fury to fear, and from fear to the most abject submission; a transition by no means unusual with the multitude. Three thousand seven hundred of these people, followed by their wives and children, went in procession, each with a cord about his neck, to this very convent, which three days before they had threatened to reduce to ashes. These poor wretches appeared before the monastery, carrying two by two a block and an axe; they then prostrated themselves upon the ground, in expectation of their sentence, but were pardoned. They returned back to Moscow, blessing their masters, and ready (though without knowing it) to renew their mutiny on the first occasion.

After these convulsions, the state resumed an appearance of tranquillity. Sophia continued to hold the principal authority, abandoning John to his incapacity; and treating Peter as her ward. With a view to strengthen her power, she divided it with prince Basil Galitzin, whom she appointed generalissimo, minister of state, and keeper of the seals; a man superior in every respect to the persons who composed that unsettled court; polite, magnificent, full of great designs, more learned than any of his countrymen, because he had had a better education, acquainted even with the Latin, a language almost totally unknown in Russia; a man of an active, laborious disposition, and of a genius superior to the age he lived in; one in short who was capable of changing Russia, if he had had leisure and power equal to his inclination. This is the picture given of him by La Neuville, who was at that time the Polish envoy in Russia; and the encomiums of foreigners are generally the least to be suspected.

This minister restrained the strelitzes, by distributing such of them as were the most mutinous among different regiments in the Ukraine, at Casan, and in Siberia.

beria. It was during his administration, that Poland, for a long time the rival of Russia, gave up in 1686 all her pretensions to the vast provinces of Smolensko and the Ukraine; it was he who in 1687, first sent an ambassador to France; a country that had been for more than twenty years in all its glory by the conquests of Louis XIV. by his magnificence, and above all, by the perfection of the arts, without which there may be grandeur, but no true glory. France at that time had had no correspondence with Russia, and the Academy of Inscriptions celebrated this embassy by a medal; as if it had come from the Indies: but notwithstanding the medal, Dologoroucki the ambassador failed in his negotiation; he even experienced disagreeable affronts, on account of the behaviour of his domesticks. It would have been better to have borne with their faults; but the court of Louis XIV. could not possibly foresee, that Russia and France would one day reckon among their advantages that of being strictly allied. Russia at that time was quiet at home, limited as before on the side of Sweden, but extended on the side of Poland her new ally; continually in alarm towards Crim Tartary; and in dispute with China concerning their frontiers.

What was the most intolerable for this empire, and a convincing proof that it had not as yet acquired a vigorous and regular administration, was, that the kan of Crim Tartary exacted an annual tribute of sixty thousand rubles, in the nature of that which Turkey had imposed on Poland. Crim Tartary is that same Taurica Chersonesus, formerly so famous by the commerce of the Greeks, and still more so by their fables; a fertile, but barbarous country, named Crimea, after its first kans, who stiled themselves Crims before the conquests of the sons of Genghis. It was with a view to free his country from this tribute, and to revenge himself on those who had imposed it, that the prime minister Galitzin marched into Crim Tartary at the head of a numerous army. These armies were in no respect similar to those maintained by the government at present: there was no discipline, not even a regi-

ment well armed, no uniform cloathing, nothing regular; it was in fact a militia, inured, it is true, to fatigue and want, but incumbered with a profusion of baggage, that is not even seen in our camps, notwithstanding the luxury that prevails in them. This prodigious number of waggons carrying ammunition and provisions into deserts, and countries that were laid waste, could not fail to obstruct the objects of the war. They found themselves in an immense desert on the river Samara, without magazines. In this situation Galitzin did, what I believe has never been attempted elsewhere; he employed thirty thousand men in building a town on the banks of the Samara, that might serve as a magazine for the ensuing campaign: it was begun in 1687, and finished in the third month of the following year. The houses indeed, were all of wood, except two, which were of brick; the ramparts were of turf, but were furnished with artillery, and in a state of defence.

This was the only singular circumstance of this ruinous expedition. In the mean time Sophia still continued to reign; John had nothing more than the bare title of czar; and Peter, who was now seventeen years old, had already the ambition to be a sovereign in reality. La Neuville, the Polish envoy, who resided at time at Moscow, and who was an eye-witness of what was transacted there, pretends, that Sophia and Galitzin engaged the new chief of the strelitzes to sacrifice the young czar to them: it appears at least, that six hundred of those troops were to have seized on his person. The secret memoirs that have been entrusted to me by the court of Russia, positively assert, that measures were taken to assassinate Peter I. The conspiracy was on the point of being put in execution, and Russia in danger of being for ever deprived of the new existence she has since received. The czar was again obliged to withdraw to the convent of the Trinity, the ordinary refuge of the court when menaced by the soldiery. There he called together the boyards of his party, assembled a militia, treated with the captain

tain of the strelitzes, and sent for certain Germans, who had long been settled at Moscow, and who were attached to his person, because he had given proofs of his disposition to patronize foreigners. Sophia and John, who continued at Moscow, conjured the body of the strelitzes to remain faithful to them; but the cause of Peter, complaining of a conspiracy, meditated against himself and his mother, prevailed over that of a princess and of a czar, whose appearance alone was sufficient to alienate the affections of the people. All the accomplices were punished, with a severity to which the country was at that time as much accustomed as to conspiracies; some few were beheaded, after undergoing the punishment of the knout or bartocks. The chief of the strelitzes perished in this manner; others, who were suspected, had their tongues cut out. Prince Galitzin obtained his life through the interest of one of his relations, who was about the czar Peter's person, but was deprived of all his possessions, which were immense, and confined on the road to Archangel. La Neuville, who was present at the whole of this catastrophe, says, that sentence was pronounced on Galitzin in these words: "The most merciful czar commands thee to repair to Karga, a town under the pole, and to remain there the rest of thy days; the extreme goodness of his majesty induces him to allow thee three-pence a day."

There is no town under the pole. Karga is situated in the sixty-second degree of latitude, only six degrees and a half farther north than Moscow. Whoever pronounced such a sentence, must have been a bad geographer; it is pretended, however, that La Neuville was misinformed on this head.

As to the princess Sophia, she was conducted back to her monastery at Moscow, after having reigned a long time; this change alone was a sufficient punishment.

From this instant Peter reigned. His brother John had no other share in the government, than that of seeing his name to the publick acts: he led a retired life, and died in 1696.

C H A P. VI.

Reign of Peter I.—Beginning of the great Reformation.

PETER the Great was tall, graceful, and well made; his countenance animated and noble, his eyes full of vivacity and fire, his constitution robust, and fitted for every kind of exercise and labour; he possessed a sound understanding, which is the foundation of all real talents; and to this was added an eagerness, which prompted him to undertake every thing, and to execute whatever he undertook. His education was far from being worthy of his genius. It had been the interest of the princess Sophia to leave him in a state of ignorance, and to abandon him to the excesses which his youth and leisure, as well as custom and his high rank seemed to render allowable. He was but lately married, and like all the other czars, had espoused one of his subjects, a daughter of colonel Lapuchin; but being young, and having for some time possessed no other prerogative of sovereignty than that of giving himself up to his pleasures, the serious ties of marriage did not restrain him sufficiently. The pleasures of the table, in which he indulged himself with the foreigners who had been invited to Moscow by the minister Galitzin, were far from affording reason to presage, that he would one day become a reformer; and yet, notwithstanding the bad examples that were continually before him, and even in spite of his pleasures, he applied himself to the arts of war and government. The seeds of greatness were perceptible in him, even at this early period. But who would have thought that this prince, whose constitutional dread of water was such, as to subject him to cold sweats, and even convulsions, whenever he crossed the smallest brook, would one day become the best mariner in the north. He resolved to overcome this natural antipathy, by plunging into water, notwithstanding

standing the horror and dread he felt at it. By persevering in this resolution, his aversion was by degrees changed into a predominating taste for that element.

The ignorance in which he had been educated, used to make him blush. He learnt of himself, and almost without the assistance of masters, enough of German and Dutch to be able to express himself, and write intelligibly in those two languages. The Germans and Dutch, appeared to him as the most polished people of Europe; since the former already cultivated at Moscow, a part of the arts which he was desirous of introducing into his empire; and the latter excelled in navigation, which he began to consider as the most necessary of all the arts.

Such were the dispositions he cherished, notwithstanding the foibles of his youth. At the same time, however, he had continually factions to fear, the turbulent spirit of the strelitzes to repress, and an almost incessant war to maintain against the Crim Tartars. The war with these people had terminated in 1689, by a truce that was not of long duration.

It was during this interval, that Peter confirmed himself in his design of introducing the arts into his country.

His father Alexis had before entertained the same views, but neither fortune nor time had seconded him: he transmitted his genius to his son, but in the latter this genius was more expanded, more vigorous and persevering.

Alexis had procured, at a great expence*, a ship-builder of the name of Bothler, from Holland, with carpenters and mariners, who constructed a large frigate and a yacht upon the Volga. They sailed down that river as far as Astracan, where they were to have been employed in building other ships that were intended for an advantageous traffick with Persia by the Caspian Sea. It was precisely at this juncture, that the revolt of Stenko Rafin broke out. This rebel destroyed the two ships, which, for his own sake, he ought to

* Memoirs from Petersburg and Moscow. V.

have preserved: he put the captain to death; the rest of the two crews escaped into Persia, and from thence reached the territories of the Dutch East-India company. A master carpenter, who was a good workman, remained in Russia, where he was for a long time unknown.

One day as Peter was walking at Ismaelhoff, a country-house built by his grandfather, he perceived among some rarities an English boat which had been totally neglected. Peter enquired of Timmerman, a German, who taught him the mathematicks, the reason why this little boat was constructed differently from those he had seen on the Moska? Timmerman replied, that it was intended to go with sails and oars. The young prince was anxious to put it to a trial, but it was necessary first of all to repair and rig it. They found out Brant, the ship-builder above-mentioned, who then lived at Moscow; this man soon repaired the boat, and launched it on the river Yauza, which waters the suburbs of Moscow.

Peter soon caused his boat to be transported to a great lake in the neighbourhood of the convent of the Trinity; and soon after this, gave orders to Brant to build two frigates and three yachts. Peter himself was the pilot of these vessels. Long after this, in 1694, he made a journey to Archangel, and after having had a small vessel built in that harbour by Brant, he embarked in it on the Frozen Sea, which no sovereign had ever seen before his time; he was escorted by a Dutch man of war, commanded by captain Jolson, and followed by all the merchant ships then at Archangel. He now applied himself to sea manœuvres; and, notwithstanding the eagerness of the courtiers to imitate their master, he was the only one that made any proficiency.

If it was difficult for him to have a fleet, it was no less difficult to form a body of land forces that should be well disciplined, and at the same time attached to his person. His first essays in navigation, on a lake, previous to his journey to Archangel, seemed to be
merely

merely the amusements of the infancy of a man of genius; and his first attempts to form a regular body of troops, seemed likewise to be nothing more than a juvenile diversion. It happened, during the regency of Sophia, and if this diversion had been suspected of being serious, it might have proved fatal to him.

The person whom he honoured with his confidence, was the celebrated Le Fort, a foreigner, of an ancient and noble family, that had removed from Piedmont to Geneva, where his relations had filled the highest employments in the republick. His parents intended to educate him to trade, which, by the bye, has been the sole means of rendering this city respectable: formerly it was famous only for controversy.

Le Fort's genius leading him to higher pursuits, we find him quitting his father's house at the age of fourteen, and serving four months as a cadet in the citadel of Marseilles; from thence he travelled into Holland, served for some time as a volunteer, and was wounded at the siege of Grave upon the Meuse, a town of considerable strength, which the prince of Orange, afterwards king of England, retook from Louis XIV. in 1674. After this, the hopes of promotion induced him to embark, in 1675, with a German colonel, named Verstin, who had procured from the czar Alexis, Peter's father, a commission to raise a few soldiers in the Low Countries, and to conduct them to the port of Archangel. But after encountering the dangers of a sea voyage, they found on their arrival in Russia, that Alexis was no more, that the government was changed, and the country in confusion. The governor of Archangel suffered Verstin, Le Fort, and the rest of their troop, to remain for a long time in a state of the greatest distress, and even threatened to send them into Siberia. They all made their escape in the best manner they could. Le Fort, destitute of every thing, went to Moscow, and offered his services to De Horn, the Danish resident, who appointed him his secretary; here he learnt the Russian language, and some time after

this found means to get himself introduced to the czar Peter. The czar John was not a person for his purpose; but Peter relished his conversation, and began with giving him a company of foot. Le Fort, at that time, could hardly be said to have seen any service; he was not a man of learning, he had studied nothing profoundly, but he had seen a great deal, and possessed a talent for observation. He resembled the czar in owing every thing to his genius; he likewise spoke Dutch and German, which Peter was then learning, as being the languages of two nations which might be useful to his designs. Every thing rendered him agreeable to Peter; he attached himself to him; pleasures laid the foundation of favour, and talents confirmed it; he was privy to the most dangerous plan that a czar could possibly form, that of enabling himself one day to break, without risk, that seditious and barbarous militia the *strelitzes*. An attempt to reform the *janizaries*, had cost the sultan Osman his life. Peter, young as he was, engaged in this scheme with greater address than Osman.

He began with forming fifty of his youngest domesticks into a company at Preobazinsky, his country-seat; a few young gentlemen, sons of boyards, were appointed officers; but in order to teach his boyards a subordination they were unacquainted with, he made them pass through all the gradations of rank, setting the example himself, by serving first as a drummer, and afterwards as a soldier, serjeant, and lieutenant in the company. Nothing could be more extraordinary or more useful. The Russians had always made war in the same manner as we used to do, during the time of the feudal government, when noblemen, without experience, led vassals to the field who were strangers to discipline, and badly armed; a barbarous method sufficient against simular armies, but of no use against regular troops.

The company thus instituted by Peter soon became numerous, and was afterwards the Preobazinsky regiment of guards. Another company, formed on a similar model,

del, became the Semenousky regiment. There was already a regiment established of five thousand men, upon which Peter could confide, as it was composed entirely of foreigners, and commanded by general Gordon, a Scotch officer. Le Fort, who had borne arms but a short time, but who was capable of every thing, undertook to raise a regiment of twelve thousand men, which he soon effected. Five colonels were appointed under him, so that he found himself on a sudden general of this little army, which, in fact, was as much intended to act against the strelitzes, as against the enemies of the state.

One thing worthy of being remarked *, and which sufficiently refutes the erroneous opinion of those who pretend, that the revocation of the edict of Nantz cost France but few of her inhabitants, is, that a third of this army, or regiment as it was called, was composed of French refugees. Le Fort exercised his new levies as if he had been all his life-time a soldier.

Peter was desirous of seeing one of those representations of war, one of those sham fights, the use of which began to be introduced even in time of peace. For this purpose a fort was erected, which one part of his new troops was to attack, whilst the other defended it. The difference between this and others of the like nature was, that instead of the harmless representation of a combat †, there was a real battle, in which some were killed, and many wounded on both sides. Le Fort, who commanded the attack, received a considerable wound. These bloody pastimes, no doubt, served to initiate his troops in the service of the field; but after all, a long series of labours, and even of misfortunes, was requisite to accomplish the point he had in view. Amidst these warlike amusements, the czar was not inattentive to his marine establishment; and as he made Le Fort a general without his having ever commanded, so he made him an admiral before he had ever had the management of a ship; but he saw that he was deserving of

* General Le Fort's MSS. V. † Ibid.

both these appointments. It is true, that this admiral was without a fleet, and that this general had no other army than his regiment.

Peter by degrees reformed the grand abuse of the military establishment, that independence of the boyards, who conducted their peasants to the army. This was perfectly similar to the government of the Franks, the Huns, the Goths, and the Vandals, those conquerors of the Roman empire in its decline; but who would have been themselves exterminated, if they had had to contend with the disciplined legions of the ancient Romans, or with armies similar to those of the present times.

It was not long before admiral Le Fort had something more than an empty title, for the czar caused several galleys, and likewise two thirty gun ships to be built by Dutch and Venetian artificers, at the mouth of the Woronitz, where it empties itself into the Tanais. These vessels were to fall down the river, and keep in awe the Crim Tartars. Hostilities began to be renewed every day with these people. In 1689, the czar had to choose between Turkey, Sweden, and China, which he should declare war against first. We must begin with describing the terms he was on with China, and what was the first treaty of peace entered into by the Chinese.

CHAP. VII.

*Congress and Treaty with the Chinese *.*

IT seems necessary, that we should set out by forming a proper idea of the boundaries of the Chinese and Russian empires at this period. After passing through Siberia properly so called, and leaving far to the south

* The materials of this chapter are collected from papers sent from China and Petersburg, and from the letters given by Du Halde in his History of China. V.

an hundred hordes of Tartars, White Calmucks, Black Calmucks, Mahometan Monguls, and Monguls who are considered as idolaters, we reach the river Amur or Amour, about the hundred and thirtieth degree of longitude, and fifty-two min. of latitude. To the north of this river, is a vast chain of mountains, extending beyond the polar circle as far as the Frozen Sea. This river, after running the space of five hundred leagues in Siberia and Chinese Tartary, at length empties itself into the sea of Kamschatka. We are told, that at the mouth of this river, they sometimes catch a monstrous fish, much larger than the hippopotamus of the Nile; and particularly valuable on account of its jaw, which is the hardest and most perfect ivory. There are writers who pretend, that this ivory was formerly an object of trade; that it was transported by the way of Siberia, and that this is the reason why pieces of bone of this kind are sometimes found buried in that country. This seems to be the most probable account that has been given of this fossile ivory; for it appears chimerical to suppose, that there were formerly elephants in Siberia.

The Amur is called the *Black River* by the Mantchoux Tartars, and the *Dragon's River* by the Chinese.

It was * in these countries which were so long unknown, that the Chinese and Russians were disputing about the limits of their respective empires. Russia was in possession of a few forts near the river Amur, at the distance of three hundred leagues from the Great Wall. These establishments had been the subject of repeated hostilities between the Chinese and the Russians. At length the two states learned to know their interests better; the emperor Cam-hi preferred peace and commerce to a fruitless war. He sent seven ambassadors to Niptchou, one of the forts. These ambassadors took with them about ten thousand men, including their guard. This was in the true style of Asiatick pomp; but what is very remarkable is, that till that period, there was not a single instance in the an-

* Mem. of the Jesuits Pereira and Gerbillon. V.

nals of the empire, of an embassy to a foreign power; and what is likewise singular is, that the Chinese had never concluded a treaty of peace since the foundation of the empire. Twice subdued by the Tartars who attacked and overcame them, they never made war against any people, if we except a few hordes who were either speedily subdued, or soon left to themselves without any treaty. Hence it should seem, as if this nation, so renowned for morality, knew nothing of what we call the law of nations; or in other words, of those vague regulations concerning war and peace; those privileges of publick ministers, those forms of treaties, the obligations resulting from thence, and the disputes concerning precedence and the point of honour.

But in what language the reader will naturally enquire, could the Chinese treat with the Russians in the midst of those deserts? Two Jesuits, one of them a Portuguese of the name of Pereira, the other a native of France, named Gerbillon, set out from Pekin with the Chinese ambassadors. These two persons removed every difficulty, and were in fact the mediators. They treated in Latin with a German of the Russian embassy, who was acquainted with that language. The principal person of the Russian embassy was Golovin, governor of Siberia. This person displayed a greater magnificence than the Chinese, and of course gave a noble idea of the Russian empire to those, who had considered themselves as the only powerful people upon earth. The two Jesuits settled the boundaries of the two powers. They were placed at the river Kerbechi, near the very spot where the negotiation was carried on. All to the south of this line, remained in the possession of the Chinese, all to the north was to belong to the Russians. The latter gave up on this occasion, only a small fortress, which had been erected a little beyond the limits; both parties then agreed to an eternal peace, and after some few trifling altercations, both Russians and Chinese ratified it *, by an oath in the name of the same God. The words of this oath

* September 8, N. S. 1689. *Chinese Mem.* V.

were

were as follows: " If ever any one should be secretly
" disposed to kindle anew the flames of war, we be-
" seech the sovereign Lord of all things, who know-
" eth all hearts, to punish the traitor by sudden
" death."

This form, which was common to Chinese and Chris-
tians, may serve to prove two points of importance ;
the first, that the Chinese government is neither athe-
istical nor idolatrous, as hath been so often asserted ;
the second, that all nations who cultivate their reason,
acknowledge in fact the same God, notwithstanding all
the misconceptions of that same reason when badly in-
structed. Two copies of the treaty were written in
Latin. The Russian ambassadors put their signatures
first to the copy that was to remain in their possession,
and the Chinese did the same with theirs, according to
the custom observed among crowned heads in Europe.
They likewise adopted a custom peculiar to the Asia-
tick nations and the primitive ages, by engraving the
treaty on two great pieces of marble, which were erect-
ed to mark the boundaries of the two empires. Three
years after this, the czar sent Ilbrand Ide, a native of
Denmark, on an embassy to China ; and the trade he
established continued to subsist, till a rupture happened
between the Russians and Chinese in 1722, but since
that interruption it has been revived with fresh vigour.

C H A P. VIII.

Expedition towards the Palus Mæotis.—Conquest of Asoph.

*—The Czar sends young Persons into foreign Countries
for Improvement.*

IT was not so easy to have peace with the Turks.
The time even seemed to be come, for rising upon
their ruins. Venice after having been overcome by
them, began to recover herself. Morosini, the same
who had surrendered Candia to the Turks, took from
them Peloponnesus ; and this conquest gained him
the

the surname of *Peloponnesian*, an honour that seemed to recall the memory of the Roman republick. The emperor of Germany, Leopold, had been somewhat successful against the Turkish empire in Hungary, and the Poles were able at least to check the incroachs of the Crim Tartars.

Peter took advantage of these circumstances to inure his troops to war, and to acquire, if he could, the empire of the Black Sea. General Gordon marched along the Tanais towards Asoph, with his numerous regiment of 5000 men; general Le Fort with his of 12,000; a body of strelitzes, commanded by Sheremeto and Shein, natives of Prussia; a body of Cossacks, and a large train of artillery, were all ready for this expedition.

^{1694.} This great army advanced under the orders of marshal Sheremeto*, about the beginning of the year 1695, towards Asoph, at the mouth of the Tanais, and at the extremity of the Palus Mæotis, which is now called the sea of Zabacha. The czar accompanied the army as a volunteer, being determined to learn some time before he took upon him to command. In the course of this march, they stormed two forts which the Turks had erected on the banks of the river.

The enterprize was difficult; the place was pretty well fortified, and defended by a numerous garrison. The gallies constructed by the Venetians, and the two little men of war built by the Dutch, were not ready soon enough, and could not enter the sea of Asoph. The beginning of every undertaking, is usually liable to obstacles. The Russians hitherto had never carried on a regular siege, and this first essay was by no means successful.

One Jacob, a native of Dantzick, directed the artillery, under the orders of general Shein, a Prussian; for almost all Peter's engineers, as well as his pilots, were foreigners. This Jacob was condemned by his general, to undergo the punishment of the battocks. At that time, rigorous discipline was thought to be the only method of strengthening command. The Russians sub-

* Sheremetow, or Sheremetoff. V.

mitted to be punished, notwithstanding their propensity to mutiny; and after these corrections, returned to their duty as usual. The Dantzicker thought differently, and determined to be revenged. For this purpose, he threw himself into Asoph, embraced the Mahometan religion, and defended the place with success. This instance is a proof, that the lenity practised at present in Russia, is preferable to the rigorous treatment formerly adopted; and a more effectual restraint on those persons, who, by having had a good education, have imbibed sentiments of honour. This severity was at that time necessary, towards the lower class of people: but when the manners of the empire were changed, the empress Elizabeth finished by her clemency the work which her father had begun by the laws. This indulgence was even extended to a degree, unexampled in the history of any people. She promised, that during her reign, no person should be punished with death, and she kept her word. She was the first sovereign who thus respected the lives of men. Malefactors were condemned to the mines, to publick works, and their punishment rendered useful to the state; an institution no less wise than humane. In other countries, criminals are put to death in form; but without ever preventing the perpetration of crimes; the dread of death has, perhaps, less influence on such wretches, who are generally bred up in idleness, than the dread of punishment and hard labour renewed every day.

But to return to the siege of Asoph. The place being supported by the same person who had directed the attack, the Russians in vain attempted to take it by storm; so that after losing a considerable number of men, they were obliged to raise the siege.

Perseverance in his undertakings, formed the distinguishing characteristick of Peter the Great. 1696. He brought a still larger army before Asoph in the spring of 1696. His brother the czar John, died about that time. Although his authority had suffered no restraint from John, who had enjoyed only the bare title

title of czar, yet it had always been a little incommo-
dod by a regard to appearances. The expences of
John's household, now went to the support of the ar-
my; this was no inconsiderable object to a government,
that had not such great revenues as at present. Peter
wrote to the emperor Leopold, to the States General,
and the elector of Brandenburg, to procure engi-
neers, gunners, and seamen. He likewise took into his
pay the Kalmucks, whose cavalry are very useful against
the Crim Tartars.

The most flattering success to the czar, was that of
his little fleet, which was at length compleated and
well manned. It beat the Turkish gallies that had
been sent from Constantinople, and took some of those
vessels. The siege was regularly conducted by trenches,
though not altogether according to our method; the
trenches being three times deeper, with parapets as
high as ramparts. At length the besieged surrendered

1696. the place on the 28th of July, N. S. without being
allowed any of the honours of war; or to carry
out with them either arms or ammunition: they were
likewise obliged to deliver the renegado Jacob into the
hands of the conquerors.

Peter immediately set about fortifying Asoph, erect-
ed strong forts to protect it, and made a harbour ca-
pable of containing the largest ships, with a design to
make himself master of the straits of Caffa, of the
Cimmerian Bosphorus, which commands the entrance
into the Euxine Sea, places that were formerly render-
ed so famous by the naval armaments of Mithridates.
The czar left thirty-two armed gallies before Asoph *,
and made every necessary preparation for fitting out a
fleet of nine ships of sixty guns each, and of forty-one
from thirty to fifty, to act against the Turks. He
called upon the rich nobility and merchants to con-
tribute towards this armament; and thinking that the
ecclesiasticks ought likewise to assist in the common
cause, he obliged the patriarch, the bishops, and Arch-
mandrites, to advance a part of their wealth towards

* Le Fort's Mem. V.

this new effort which he was making for the honour of his country, and the advantage of Christianity. The Cossacks were employed in making light boats, such as they had been used to, and in which they could easily cruize along the coasts of Crim Tartary. The Turks could not fail of being alarmed at this armament, the first that had ever been attempted on the Palus Mæotis. The plan was to drive the Turks and Tartars for ever out of the Crimea, and afterwards to establish a free and easy trade with Persia by the way of Georgia. This was the same commerce, that was formerly carried on by the Greeks to Colchos, and to this Taurica Cherfonefus, which the czar now seemed likely to subdue.

After conquering the Turks and Tartars, he was desirous of accustoming his people to glory as well as to fatigue. He conducted his army into Moscow under triumphal arches, in the midst of fire-works, and of every thing that could possibly embellish the festival. The soldiers who had fought in the Venetian galleys against the Turks, and who formed a distinct troop, marched first: in this pompous ceremony, marshal Sheremeto, the generals Gordon and Shein, admiral Le Fort, and the rest of the general officers, preceded the sovereign; who declared, that he had as yet no rank in the army; and who, by this example, was no doubt desirous of convincing his nobility, that in order to acquire military honours they should be merited.

This triumph was in some respects similar to those of the ancient Romans, and particularly in this, that as in Rome it was usual on such occasions to expose the vanquished to publick view, and sometimes to put them to death; so here the procession was closed by the slaves, that had been taken in this expedition; and the traitor Jacob was conducted in a waggon furnished with a gibbet, to which his body was suspended, after having been previously broke upon the wheel.

It was upon this occasion that a medal was struck for the first time in Russia. The Russian legend is remarkable: *Peter I. august emperor of Muscovy.* On the

reverse is Asoph with these words: *Victorious by fire and water.*

Amidst all these successes, Peter was concerned at having no ships or gallies, but such as were constructed by foreigners; and was no was anxious to have a harbour in the Baltick, as upon the Euxine Sea.

In March 1697, he sent sixty young Russians of Le Fort's regiment into Italy. The greater part of them to Venice, some few to Leghorn, in order to study navigation and the art of building ships and gallies; forty others * were sent into Holland, to learn how to build and work ships of war; others were sent into Germany to serve in the army, and instruct themselves in the military discipline of that country. At length he came to a resolution to absent himself for a few years from his dominions, in order to learn the means of improving them. He found it impossible for him to resist the extreme desire he felt, to instruct himself with his own eyes, and even with his own hands, in the naval and other arts, he was wishing to see established in Russia. He therefore determined to travel incognito into Denmark, Brandenburg, and Holland, and likewise to Vienna, Venice and Rome. France and Spain were the only countries that did not enter into his plan; Spain, because the arts he was in quest of were at that time too much neglected there; and France, because they were, perhaps, cultivated in that country with too much parade. The haughtiness of Lewis XIV. which had disgusted so many potentates, might likewise seem ill to agree with the private manner in which he meant to travel. We may observe farther, that he was in alliance with all the powers he was about to visit, except those of France and Rome. He still remembered with dissatisfaction, the little respect Lewis XIV. had shewn to the embassy in 1687; an embassy which had been much more celebrated than successful; and lastly, he was already beginning to side with Augustus elector of Saxony, with whom the prince of Conti was disputing the crown of Poland.

* Le Fort's MSS. V. I. 1699

C H A P. IX.

Travels of Peter the Great.

THE czar had no sooner determined to visit all these different countries and courts, than he placed himself in the retinue of three ambassadors, in the same manner as he had before appeared in the train of his generals, at his triumphal entry into Moscow.

The three ambassadors were general Le Fort, the boyard Alexis Gollovin, commissary-general of war, and governor of Siberia, the same who signed the perpetual treaty of peace with the Chinese plenipotentiaries on the frontiers of that empire; and Wonitsin, diak, or secretary of state, who had been long employed in foreign courts. Four principal secretaries, twelve gentlemen, two pages for each ambassador, a company of fifty guards, with their officers, all of the regiment of Preobazinski, composed the chief retinue of this embassy; the whole consisted of two hundred persons; and the czar reserving to himself only one valet de chambre, a servant in livery, and a dwarf, mixed with the crowd. It was a thing unparalleled in the history of the world, for a king of five and twenty years of age to quit his dominions, in order to improve himself in the art of government. His victory over the Turks and Tartars, his triumphant entry into Moscow, the great number of foreign troops who were attached to his service, the death of his brother John, the confinement of the princess Sophia, and above all, the general regard entertained for his person, seemed to ensure the tranquillity of his dominions during his absence. He intrusted the regency to the boyard Strechnef, and the knez Romadonowsky, who in matters of importance, were to consult with the other boyards.

The troops commanded by general Gordon remained at Moscow, to secure the publick tranquillity in that capital. The strelitzes being thought likely to excite

a disturbance, were distributed on the frontiers of Crim Tartary, to preserve the conquest of Asoph, and to check the incursions of the Tartars. After having thus provided against every thing that might happen during his absence, he gave a full scope to his desire of travelling into different countries to improve himself.

This journey having proved the cause, or at least the pretence, of the bloody war which so long thwarted, but in the end assisted the czar in all his grand projects; which dethroned Augustus king of Poland, disposed of the crown to Stanislaus, and afterwards stript him of it; which made Charles XII. of Sweden, the first of conquerors for the space of nine years, and the most unfortunate of kings during nine more; it will be requisite, in order to enter into a detail of these events, to describe the state of Europe at that time.

Sultan Mustapha II. was then on the throne of Turkey. The weakness of his administration would not allow him to make any considerable efforts, either against the emperor of Germany Leopold, whose arms had been successful in Hungary, or against Peter, who had lately deprived him of Asoph, and who threatened to make himself master of the Euxine Sea; or even against the Venetians, who had taken from him the whole of the Peloponnesus.

John Sobiesky, king of Poland, who immortalized his name by his victory at Chocsim, and the deliverance of Vienna, died on the 17th of June 1696; and that crown was already disputed by Augustus, elector of Saxony, who obtained it, and Armand, prince of Conti, who had only the honour of being elected.

Sweden had lately lost Charles XI. a prince but little regretted by his subjects. He was the first sovereign who had been really absolute in that country, and was the father of a king who was still more so, and with whom all despotism ceased*. He was succeeded by his son Charles XII. a youth only fifteen years old. This seemed to be a favourable conjuncture

* Sweden was made an absolute monarchy again by Gustavus III. the present king, in 1772. T.

for the czar's designs; he had it in his power to enlarge his dominions on the gulph of Finland, and towards Livonia. He was not content with harrassing the Turks on the Black Sea; establishments on the Palus Mœotis, and near the Caspian Sea, were inadequate to his projects of navigation, commerce, and power; besides, glory, which is the great object of every reformer, was to be met with neither in Persia nor in Turkey, but in our part of the world, Europe, where great talents of every kind are rendered immortal. In short, Peter wished to introduce our manners among his subjects, not those of the Turks or Persians.

Germany at war both with France and Turkey, and in alliance with Spain, England, and Holland, against the single power of Lewis XIV. was on the point of concluding a peace, and the plenipotentiaries were already assembled for that purpose at the castle of Ryf-wick, near the Hague.

Such was the situation of affairs when Peter and his embassy began their journey in April 1697, by the way of Novogorod. From thence they travelled through Esthonia and Livonia, provinces formerly disputed by the Russians, Swedes, and Poles, and at last acquired by the Swedes by dint of arms.

The fertility of Livonia, and the situation of Riga its capital, were temptations to the czar; at least he expressed a desire to see the fortifications of the citadel. Count d'Alberg, governor of Riga, took umbrage at this request, refused to gratify his curiosity, and seemed to shew but little respect to the embassy. This behaviour did not serve to cool the inclination Peter might have, to make himself master of those provinces.

They proceeded from Livonia to Brandenburg Prussia, part of which had been inhabited by the ancient Vandals; Polish Prussia had been included in European Sarmatia; Brandenburg was a poor country, and thinly peopled, but its elector displayed a magnificence that was equally novel and ruinous. He piqued himself upon receiving the embassy with all the pomp of royalty in his city of Königsberg. The most

magnificent presents were made on both sides. The contrast between the French dress which the court of Berlin affected, and the long Asiatick robes worn by the Russians, with their caps buttoned up with pearls and precious stones, and their scimitars hanging at their belts, produced a singular effect. The czar was dressed in the German taste. The prince of Georgia who accompanied him, and was cloathed after the Persian fashion, displayed a magnificence of a different kind. This is the same prince, who was afterwards taken at the battle of Narva, and who died in Sweden.

The czar despised all this pomp; it was to have been wished, that he had been equally averse to those pleasures of the table, in which the Germans gloried at that time. It was at one of those entertainments, then too much in vogue, and which were equally injurious to health and morality, that he drew his sword upon his favourite *Le Fort* *; but he expressed as much regret for this momentary gust of passion, as Alexander did for the murder of Clytus; he asked pardon of *Le Fort*. He said, that he wanted to reform his subjects, and that he could not yet reform himself. General *Le Fort*, in his manuscript, praises the czar's goodness of heart, more than he blames this fall of passion.

The ambassadors proceeded from Koningsberg through Pomerania to Berlin, and from thence one part continued its route by the way of Magdebourg, and the other by Hamburgh, a city that was already become considerable, by means of its extensive commerce; but not so opulent or so populous as it has become since. They next proceeded towards Minden, passed through Westphalia, and at length reached Amsterdam by the way of Cleves.

Peter arrived at Amsterdam a fortnight before the ambassadors. At first he resided in the East-India company's house, but soon afterwards he pitched upon a small apartment in the dock-yard belonging to the admiralty. He then assumed the dress of a Dutch skipper, and in this habit went to the village of Sar-

* *Le Fort's MSS. Memoirs.*

dam, where a much greater number of ships was built at that time than at present. This village is as large, as populous, as rich, and much neater than many opulent cities. The czar admired the multitude of people who were continually employed there; the order and regularity with which they worked; the prodigious dispatch with which a ship was built and fitted out; and the incredible number of stores and machines, for the greater ease and security of labour. The czar began with purchasing a bark, and after making a mast to it with his own hands, proceeded to work upon all the different parts of a vessel; living in the same manner as the other workmen at Sardam, dressing and faring in every respect like them; working in the forges, in the rope-walks, and in the mills, which are in such astonishing number in that village, for sawing fir and oak-timber, extracting oil, manufacturing paper, or wire-drawing. He inrolled himself among the carpenters by the name of Peter Michaeloff. He was commonly called *Peter Bas*, or Master Peter; and the workmen, though at first astonished at having a sovereign for their companion, soon became familiarized to the sight.

While he was employing himself in this manner with the compass and axe at Sardam, he received a confirmation of the news of the division in Poland; and of the double election of the elector Augustus and the prince of Conti. The carpenter of Sardam, immediately engaged to assist king Augustus with thirty thousand men; and issued out orders from his work-shop, to his army assembled in the Ukraine against the Turks.

His troops obtained a victory over the Tartars in the neighbourhood of Asoph, and a few months afterwards, even took from them the city of Or, Orkapi, which we call Precop. As to the czar himself, he still continued to instruct himself in different arts; he went from Sardam to Amsterdam, to study under that celebrated anatomist Ruysch; he even performed several chirurgical operations; an acquirement, which in cases of necessity he fancied, might render him useful.

Aug. 11,
1697.

ful to his officers, or to himself. He applied himself to natural philosophy in the house of the burgomaster Witsen, a man truly estimable for his patriotism, and the use he made of his immense wealth; which he employed like a citizen of the world, in sending ingenious men to all parts of the world at a vast expence, and in fitting out ships for making new discoveries.

Peter Bas suspended his labours for a short time, but it was only to pay a private visit at Utrecht and the Hague, to William, king of England, and stadtholder of the United Provinces. General Le Fort was the only one allowed to be present at the conference of the two monarchs. The czar afterwards assisted at the entry and audience of his ambassadors; they presented to the deputies of the States, in his name, six hundred of the finest fables; and the States, besides the usual present of a chain of gold and a medal, gave them three magnificent coaches: they received the first visits of all the ambassadors who were at the congress of Ryswick, excepting those of France, to whom they had not announced their arrival; not only because the czar sided with king Augustus against the prince of Conti, but likewise because king William, whose friendship he cultivated, was not desirous of a peace with France.

At his return to Amsterdam, he resumed his former occupations; and finished with his own hands, a sixty-gun ship that he had begun himself, and sent her to Archangel, the only port he had at that time on the ocean.

Peter not only engaged in his service French refugees, Swiss, and Germans, but he likewise sent artists of every kind to Moscow, though not till he had previously seen them work himself. There were few arts or trades of which he had not the minutest knowledge; he used to take a particular pleasure in correcting the maps, on which the situation of towns and rivers in his dominions were laid down at hazard, as being but little known. There is still extant a map, in which he marked out the communication between the Caspian and

Black

Black Seas, which he had already projected, and the execution of which he had given in charge to a German engineer of the name of Brakel. The junction of these two seas was, indeed, not so difficult as that of the ocean and Mediterranean, which had been executed in France; but the idea of uniting the sea of Asoph with the Caspian, seemed at that time to terrify the imagination. New establishments in that country seemed to him to be the more necessary, in proportion as his successes gave him new hopes.

His troops under the command of general Shein and prince Dolgoroucki, had lately gained a victory over the Tartars near Asoph, and even over a body of janizaries that the sultan Mustapha had sent to support them. This success contributed to make him more respected by those who had blamed him as a sovereign, for having quitted his dominions to commence carpenter at Amsterdam. They now perceived that the affairs of the monarch, did not suffer by the labours of the philosophical traveller and artist.

He continued his usual occupations at Amsterdam, of ship-builder, engineer, geographer, and natural philosopher, till the middle of January 1698; when he set out for England, travelling, as usual, in the retinue of his ambassadors.

King William sent his own yacht for him, and two men of war, by way of convoy. His mode of life in England, was the same as it had been at Amsterdam and Sardam. His lodgings were near the dock-yard at Deptford, and the whole of his time was spent in gaining instruction. The Dutch builders had only taught him their method, and the practical part of ship-building; in England the art was better explained, for here he saw that the builders worked according to mathematical proportions. He soon made himself master of this science, and was even able to give lessons in it. He set about building a vessel according to the English method, and it proved an excellent sailer. The art of clock-making, which was already brought to perfection in London, excited his attention; and he made himself

himself perfectly acquainted with the theory of it. Captain Perry, an engineer, who followed him from London to Russia, says, that from the casting of cannon, to the spinning of ropes, there was not a single branch of trade which he did not carefully notice, and even put his hand to, whenever he came into the places where any of these works were carried on. The English court, in order to cultivate his friendship, allowed him to engage artificers into his service, as he had done in Holland: but, besides artificers, he engaged several mathematicians, which he would not so easily have found at Amsterdam. Ferguson, a Scotchman, a good geometrician, entered into his service: it was he who first introduced the use of arithmetick in the Russian exchequer-office, where they had till then followed the same method of reckoning that is practised by the Tartars, with balls strung upon a wire. This method, indeed, supplied the place of writing, but was very troublesome and defective, because, after making the calculation, there is no way of discovering any error. The Indian cyphers we now use, and for which we are indebted to the Arabians, were not introduced amongst us before the ninth century; the Russians did not become acquainted with them till a thousand years afterwards. This has been the fate of all the arts, they have slowly made the tour of the globe. Ferguson took with him two young persons from a mathematical school, and this was the beginning of the marine-academy, founded afterwards by Peter. He observed and calculated eclipses with Ferguson. Perry the engineer, though highly dissatisfied at not having been sufficiently rewarded, acknowledges, that Peter had made himself well acquainted with astronomy; and that he well understood the motions of the heavenly bodies, and even the laws of gravitation, by which they are directed. This power, now so clearly demonstrated, and so little known before the time of the great Newton, by which all the planets gravitate towards each other, and which retains them in their orbits, was already become familiar to a sovereign of Russia; while the

the people of other nations, were amusing themselves with chimerical vortices*; and in Galileo's country there were ignorant persons, who ordered others as ignorant as themselves, to believe the Earth to be immoveable.

Perry set out, in order to effect the junction of rivers, and to construct bridges and sluices. The czar's plan was, by means of canals, to form a communication between the Ocean, the Caspian Sea, and the Black Sea. We must not omit to mention, that several English merchants, at the head of whom was the marquis of Carmarthen, gave the czar fifteen thousand pounds sterling, for leave to sell tobacco in Russia. The patriarch, by a mistaken severity, had proscribed this branch of commerce; the Russian church prohibited the use of tobacco as a sin. Peter, who was more enlightened, and who, amongst his other intended changes, meditated a reformation of the church, introduced this article of trade into his empire.

King William, before the czar left England, entertained him with an exhibition worthy of such a guest; this was a sham sea-fight. No one at that time could imagine, that the czar would one day fight real battles of this sort against the Swedes, and gain victories in the Baltick Sea. The king of England afterwards made him a present of the vessel, in which he used to go over to Holland. It was called the Royal Transport, and was a well constructed, as well as magnificent vessel. Peter returned in this yacht to Holland, the latter end of May 1698. He took with him three captains of men of war, five and twenty masters of ships, who were likewise called captains, forty lieutenants, thirty pilots, thirty surgeons, two hundred and fifty gunners, and upwards of three hundred artificers. This little colony of persons, skilled in different branches, sailed from Holland to Archangel, on board the Royal Transport, and from thence were distributed into all the different places where their services were deemed necessary.

* Our author alludes here to the system of his countryman, Des Cartes. T.

Those who had been engaged at Amsterdam, went by the way of Narva, which was at that time subject to Sweden.

While the czar was thus busied in transplanting the arts into his own country from England and Holland, the officers whom he had sent to Rome and other parts of Italy, had likewise engaged several artists. General Sheremeto, who was at the head of his embassy into Italy, went from Rome to Naples, and from thence to Venice and Malta. In the mean time, the czar with his other ambassadors proceeded to Vienna. After seeing the English fleets, and the dock-yards of Holland, he was desirous of observing the military discipline of the Germans. Politicks had likewise as great a share in this journey, as the desire of improvement. The emperor was the czar's natural ally against the Turks. Peter had a private interview with Leopold. The two monarchs conversed together standing, to avoid the trouble of ceremony.

Nothing remarkable occurred during his stay at Vienna, except the ancient feast of the host and hostess, which Leopold revived upon the czar's account, it having been disused during the whole of his reign. This entertainment, which is called *wurtchafft*, is celebrated in the following manner. The emperor is host, and the empress hostess; the king of the Romans, the archdukes and the archduchesses, are commonly their assistants; and entertain at their inn people of all nations, who come dressed after the most ancient fashion of their several countries. The persons who are invited to the feast, draw tickets by lot: on each of these tickets is written the name of the nation, and the character they are to represent. One for instance draws a ticket for a Chinese mandarin, another for a Tartarian mirza, a Persian satrap, or a Roman senator: a princess may in the same manner be a milk-maid or a gardener's wife; and a prince, a peasant or a common soldier. The host and hostess, with their family, wait at table. Such was the ancient institution*; but

* The Petersburg, and Le Fort's MSS.

upon

upon this occasion, Joseph king of the Romans, and the countess of Traun, represented ancient Egyptians: the archduke Charles and the countess of Walstein, figured as Flemings of the time of Charles V. The archduchess Mary Elizabeth and the count of Traun, were habited as Tartars; the archduchess Josephina and count Worklaw, appeared in Persian dresses; the archduchess Mariamne and prince Maximilian of Hanover, in the character of North Holland peasants. Peter was dressed like a Friesland boor; and all who conversed with him, addressed him in that character, talking to him at the same time of the great czar of Muscovy. These circumstances are trifling; but every thing that revives the remembrance of ancient manners, is in some degree deserving of being recorded.

Peter was preparing to leave Vienna, in order to complete his instruction at Venice, when he received intelligence of an insurrection that had lately broke out in his dominions.

C H A P. X.

A Conspiracy punished.—The Corps of Strelitzes abolished.—Alterations in Customs, in Manners, in the State, and in the Church.

THE czar at his departure had provided against every incident, even that of rebellion. The great and useful things he was doing for his country, proved the very cause of this insurrection.

Some of the old boyards, who were attached to the ancient customs, and several priests, who considered the new ones as little better than sacrilege, were the first promoters of the disturbance. The old faction of the princess Sophia, began to rouse itself anew. We are told, that one of her sisters, who was confined with her in the same monastery, did not a little contribute to foment a revolt. Reports were industriously propagated,

pagated, concerning the danger that was to be feared from the introduction of so many foreigners to instruct the nation *. In short, who would imagine, that the permission Peter had given to import tobacco into Russia, in spite of the clergy, proved one of the principal motives of the rebellion. Superstition, which in every part of the globe is so fatal a scourge, and so dear to the multitude, spread itself from the Russian populace to the strelitzes, who were dispersed on the frontiers of Lithuania. They assembled, and marched towards Moscow, with the design of placing the princess Sophia on the throne, and preventing the return of a czar, who had violated the customs of the empire, by presuming to travel into foreign countries for instruction. The troops commanded by the generals Shein and Gordon, being better disciplined than the strelitzes, defeated them about fifteen leagues from Moscow. But this superiority of a foreign general over the ancient militia, in which several of the citizens of Moscow were enrolled, irritated the nation still more.

In order to quell these seditions, the czar set out privately from Vienna, passed through Poland, saw king Augustus incognito, with whom he concerted measures to extend his dominions on the side of the Baltick, and at length reached Moscow †, where he surprized every body with his presence. He began with rewarding the troops who had defeated the strelitzes; the prisons were full of those unhappy wretches. If their crime was great, their punishment was so also. Their chiefs, with several of their officers and some priests, were condemned to death ‡. Some were broke upon the wheel, and two women were buried alive. Two thousand of the strelitzes were executed, some of whom were hung round the walls of the city, and the rest executed in different manners §; their dead bodies were exposed for two days on the high roads, and particularly about the convent in which the two princesses Sophia and Eudoxia were confined. Columns of

* Le Fort's MSS. † September 1698. ‡ Perry and Le Fort's MSS. § Le Fort's MSS.

stone were erected, on which their crimes and their punishments were engraven. A great number of them who had wives and children at Moscow, were dispersed with their families in Siberia, in the kingdom of Astracan, and in the country about Asoph; by which means, their punishment was at least rendered useful to the state, as they served to clear and people tracts of land, that were in want of inhabitants and cultivation.

Perhaps, if the czar had not thought it absolutely necessary to make so terrible an example, he would have employed some of the strelitzes upon the publick works, instead of putting them to death, and of course suffering them to be lost both to him and the state. The lives of men ought to be deemed of great value, especially in a country where population required the utmost attention of the sovereign; but he deemed it necessary to astonish, and completely subdue the spirit of the nation, by the parade and the multitude of executions. The whole corps of strelitzes, which not one of his predecessors had once dared to diminish, was broke for ever, and their name abolished. This change was effected without the least resistance, because he had prepared himself for it. The sultan of the Turks, Osman, as we have already observed, was deposed and assassinated in the same century, only for having given cause to the janizaries to suspect, that he designed to lessen their number. Peter was more fortunate, because the measures he had taken were more prudent. A few inconsiderable regiments, were now all that remained of this numerous militia of the strelitzes, and these were no longer dangerous; still, however, they preserved their old spirit, and revolted once more at Astracan in 1705, but were soon brought to order again.

The severity displayed by Peter in this affair of state, was more than equalled by the humanity he evinced some time afterwards, when he lost his favourite Le Fort, who was carried off by an untimely fate *, at

* March 12, 1699, N. S.

the age of six and forty. The czar paid him the same funeral honours as are usually bestowed on great sovereign princes; he himself assisted in the procession, with a pike in his hand, marching after the captains in the rank of lieutenant, which he held in the deceased general's regiment; hereby teaching his nobility how to respect merit and military rank.

It appeared clearly after Le Fort's death, that the changes in the state were not owing to him, but to the czar himself, who had indeed been confirmed in his projects by his conversation with Le Fort, but who had conceived and executed them all without his assistance.

Peter had no sooner abolished the strelitzes, than he formed regular regiments on the German model; they were clothed in a short uniform, instead of the long inconvenient dress they used to wear before; their exercise was more regular. The Preobazinsky guards were already formed; they had taken this name from the first company of fifty young persons, who had been trained up by the czar in his younger days in his retreat at Preobazinsky, at the time when his sister Sophia governed the state; the other regiment of guards was likewise established.

As the czar had himself passed through the lowest ranks in the army, he was determined that the sons of his boyards and knezes, should begin with serving as soldiers before they were made officers. He sent some of them on board his fleet at Woronitz and Asoph, where they were obliged to serve an apprenticeship as common seamen. No person dared to dispute the orders of a master, who had himself set the example. The English and Dutch artificers were employed in equipping this fleet for sea, in making sluices, in constructing docks for careening the ships, and in resuming the great work of forming a communication between the Tanais and the Wolga, which had been laid aside by Brakel the German. About this time likewise, the czar's intended reformations in his council of state, in the finances, in the church, and even in society itself, were begun.

The

The finances were administered nearly in the same manner as in Turkey; each boyard paid a stipulated sum for his estates, which he raised upon the peasants his vassals; the czar appointed burghers and burgo-masters to be his receivers. These people were not powerful enough to arrogate to themselves the right of paying into the exchequer only such sums as they should think fit. This new administration of the revenue, was what cost him the most trouble; for he was obliged to try more than one method, before he could determine upon a proper one.

The reformation in the church, which is every where considered as so difficult and dangerous, was not so to him. The patriarchs had sometimes opposed the authority of the sovereign, as well as of the strelitzes; Nikon with insolence, Joachim, one of Nikon's successors, in an artful way. The bishops had claimed a power of life and death, a privilege totally repugnant to the spirit of religion, and to good government: this usurped power, which had been of long standing, was now taken from them. The patriarch Adrian dying at the latter end of this century, Peter declared there should be no other. This dignity therefore was entirely abolished, and the great income belonging to it annexed to the publick revenue, which stood in need of such an addition. The czar, it is true, did not style himself the head of the Russian church, as the kings of Great-Britain have done in regard to England; yet in fact, he was not less an absolute master over it, as the synods did not dare to disobey a despotick sovereign, or to dispute with a prince, who was better informed than themselves.

It is sufficient for us to cast our eyes on the preamble to the edict issued in 1721, containing his ecclesiastical regulations, to perceive that he acted as a legislator and master. It is conceived in the following terms:
 " We should consider ourselves as guilty of ingrati-
 " tude toward the Almighty, if after having reformed
 " the military and civil powers, we should neglect the
 " spiritual. For these reasons, in imitation of the most

B b

" ancient

“ ancient monarchs, who have been celebrated for
 “ their piety, we have taken upon us to give the ne-
 “ cessary regulations to the clergy.” It is true, he estab-
 lished a synod for carrying his ecclesiastical laws into exe-
 cution; but the members of this synod were to begin
 their ministry by an oath written and signed by him-
 self. This was an oath of obedience, the form of which
 was as follows: “ I swear to be a faithful and obe-
 “ dient servant and subject to my natural and true
 “ sovereign, and to the august successors whom he
 “ shall be pleased to nominate, in virtue of the indis-
 “ putable right he has of so doing: I acknowledge
 “ him to be the supreme judge of this spiritual col-
 “ lege; and I swear by the God who sees all things,
 “ that I understand and explain this oath, in the full
 “ force and sense which the words present to those who
 “ read or hear it.” This is a much stronger oath, than
 that of the supremacy in England. The Russian mo-
 narch, it is true, was not one of the fathers of the sy-
 nod, but he dictated their laws; and though he did
 not touch the holy censor, he directed the hands that
 held it.

While this great work was in contemplation, he
 thought that in a country like his, which stood in need
 of being peopled, the celibacy of the monks was re-
 pugnant to nature and the publick good. The ancient
 custom of the Russian church, was for the secular clergy
 to marry at least once in their lives; they were even
 obliged to do so; and formerly, when they had lost
 their wives, they ceased to be priests. But Peter
 esteemed it dangerous, to suffer a multitude of young
 people of both sexes to make a vow of living uselefs in
 a cloister, and at the expence of society; he therefore
 ordered, that no one should be allowed to embrace a
 monastick life, till they were fifty years old; which is
 an age, at which mankind are seldom subject to a
 temptation of this sort; and he forbade any person, of
 what age soever, to be admitted, who was invested
 with any publick employment.

This

This regulation has since been repealed, because the Russian government have thought it right to shew more complaisance to monasteries: but as for the dignity of patriarch, that has never been revived; the great revenues of the patriarchate, having been applied to the payment of the troops. These changes at first excited murmurings: a priest asserted in writing, that Peter was antichrist, because he would have no patriarch; and the art of printing, which the czar encouraged, was made use of to publish libels against him; another priest, however, undertook to prove that the czar could not be antichrist, because the number 666 was not to be found in his name, and that he had not the sign of the beast. But all complaints were soon removed, for Peter in fact gave much more to the church than he had taken from it, by gradually making the clergy more regular and more learned. He founded three colleges at Moscow where they teach the languages, and where all who are destined for the priesthood are obliged to study.

One of the most necessary alterations was the abolition, or at least the mitigation of the three lents, an ancient superstition of the Greek church, and as pernicious to those who were engaged in publick works, and especially to the soldiery, as the old superstition of the Jews, of not fighting on the sabbath-day was to that people. Peter therefore dispensed with his troops and workmen at least, observing these lents; in which, though they were not permitted to eat, they generally used to get drunk. He even dispensed with their fasting on meagre days, and obliged the chaplains of his fleet and army to set the example, which they did without any difficulty.

The calendar was another important object. Formerly, in every country upon earth, the year was regulated by the chiefs of religion, not only on account of the feasts, but because in ancient times astronomy was understood only by the priests. Among the Russians, the year began on the first of September. The czar ordered that in future it should begin on the first

of January, as in our part of Europe. This alteration was appointed to take place in the year 1700, at the beginning of the century, which he celebrated by a jubilee and other grand solemnities. The common people wondered, how the czar should be able to change the course of the sun. Some obstinate persons, persuaded that God had created the world in September, continued the old style; but the alteration was adopted in all the publick offices, in the courts of chancery, and in a short time throughout the empire. Peter did not adopt the Gregorian calendar, because the English mathematicians had rejected it; but which must, nevertheless, be one day admitted in every country.

Ever since the fifth century, the period at which the Russians first became acquainted with the use of letters, they had been used to write upon rolls made at first of the bark of trees, or of parchment, and afterwards of paper. The czar was obliged to publish an edict, enjoining his subjects to write only after our manner. The reformation extended to every thing. Marriages in Russia had till then been made in the same manner as in Turkey and Persia, where the bride is not seen by the bridegroom till the contract is signed, and they can no longer recede from their engagement. This may be a good custom in those countries where polygamy is established, and where the women are always shut up; but it must be bad in those, where a man is allowed only one wife, and where divorces are rare.

Peter was desirous of accustoming his subjects to the manners and customs of the nations he had visited in his travels, and from which he had taken the masters who were now instructing them.

It seemed necessary, that the Russians should not be dressed in a different manner from those who were teaching them the arts; an aversion for strangers being too natural to mankind, and too much encouraged by a difference of dress. The full dress, which at that time partook of the Polish, Turkish, and ancient Hungarian fashions, was, as we have already remark-
ed

ed, very noble; but the dress of the burghers and lower sort of people, resembled the jackets folded round the waist, that are still given to the poor in some of our hospitals. In general, the robe was formerly the dress of all nations, as requiring the least trouble and art; the beard was suffered to grow for the same reason. The czar met with no difficulty in introducing our mode of dress, and the custom of shaving among his courtiers; but the common people were not so tractable, and he found it necessary to lay a tax on long coats and beards. Patterns of close-bodied coats were hung up at the gates of the city, and whoever refused to pay the tax, were obliged to submit to have their robes shortened, and their beards shaved. All this was done with an air of pleasantry, and this pleasantry prevented sedition.

The aim of all legislators, has been to render mankind sociable; but to effect this end, it is not sufficient that they are collected together in towns, there must be a mutual intercourse of civility; this intercourse sweetens all the bitterness of life. The czar therefore introduced those assemblies, which by the Italians are styled *ridotti*, a term that has been very improperly translated into French, by the word *redoute*. He invited to these assemblies the ladies of his court, with their daughters, who were all to be dressed after the manner of the southern nations of Europe. He even drew up the regulations that were to be observed at these social entertainments; so that even to the introduction of good breeding among his subjects, all was his own work, and that of time.

That his subjects might relish these innovations the better, he abolished the word *golut*, *slave*, which the Russians made use of when they addressed their sovereign, or presented any petition to him; and ordered, that, for the future, they should make use of the word *raab*, which signifies *subject*. This little alteration could not lessen the obedience, though it tended to conciliate the affection of his subjects. Every month produced some new institution or change. He even carried his attention so far, as to cause painted posts to be erected

on the road between Moscow and Woronitz, to serve as mile-stones at every verst, or in other words, at the distance of every seven hundred paces; and ordered a kind of caravanferas to be built at the end of every twentieth verst.

While he was extending his cares in this manner to the common people, to the merchants, and to travellers, he thought fit to introduce something splendid into his court; for, though averse to pomp in his own person, he deemed it necessary in those about him. In imitation therefore of those orders with which all the courts of Europe abound, he instituted the order of St. Andrew *. Golovin, who succeeded Le Fort in the dignity of high admiral, was the first knight of this order. The honour of being admitted into it, was considered as a high reward. It was a sort of badge, that entitled the bearer of it to be respected by the people. Such a mark of honour costs a sovereign nothing, and flatters the self-love of a subject, without rendering him powerful.

All these useful innovations were received with applause by the wiser part of his subjects; and the complaints of those who were attached to the ancient customs, were stifled by the acclamations of men of a rational way of thinking.

While Peter was beginning this new creation in the interior part of his dominions, an advantageous truce with the Turks enabled him to extend his territories on another side. Mustapha II. after being defeated by prince Eugene at the battle of Zanta, in 1697, losing the Morea, which had been taken from him by the Venetians, and unable to defend Asoph, found himself obliged to make peace with all his conquerors. This peace was concluded at Carlowitz †, between Peterwaradin and Salankamon, places rendered famous by his defeats. Temiswaer was made the boundary of the German possessions, and of the Ottoman dominions. Kaminiack was restored to the Poles; the Morea, and some towns in Dalmatia that had been taken by the

* Sept 10, 1698. We always follow the new style. V. † Jan. 26, 1699.

Venetians, continued for some time in their hands, and Peter I. remained master of Asoph, and of the forts built in its neighbourhood. It was hardly possible for the czar to enlarge his dominions on the side of the Turks, whose forces, though before divided, were now united, and of course would have fallen upon him. His naval designs were too extensive for the Palus Mæotis. The settlements on the Caspian Sea would not admit of a fleet of ships of war; he therefore turned his views towards the Baltick Sea, but without abandoning his naval establishments on the Tanais and Wolga.

C H A P. XI.

War with Sweden.—Battle of Narva.

A Grand scene was now beginning to be displayed on the frontiers of Sweden. One of ^{1700.} the principal causes of all the revolutions which happened from Ingria as far as Dresden, and which for the space of eighteen years laid so many countries waste, was the abuse of the supreme power by Charles XI. king of Sweden, father of Charles XII. We cannot repeat this fact too often, as it concerns every crowned head, and the subjects of every nation. Almost all Livonia, with the whole of Esthonia, had been ceded by Poland to Charles XI. king of Sweden, who succeeded Charles X. precisely at the time of the treaty of Oliva: it was given up in the usual manner, with a reservation of all its privileges. Charles XI. shewed but little regard to them. John Reinhold Patkul, a Livonian gentleman, came to Stockholm in 1692, at the head of six deputies from the province, to carry their complaints to the foot of the throne, couched in respectful, but strong terms †. These deputies, instead of being answered,

† Norberg, who was chaplain and confessor to Charles XII. says in his History, “ that he had the insolence to complain of oppressions, and that he was condemned to lose his honour and his life.” This is speaking like the priest of despotism. He ought to have remarked, that no one can deprive a citizen of his honour for doing his duty. V.

were sent to prison, and Patkul was condemned to lose his honour and his life; but he lost neither, for he made his escape, and remained for some time in the country of Vaud, in Switzerland. Being afterwards informed that Augustus, elector of Saxony, had promised at his accession to the throne of Poland, to recover the provinces that had been taken from that kingdom, he hastened to Dresden to represent to that prince how easily he might retake Livonia, and revenge upon a king, only seventeen years of age, the losses that Poland had sustained by his ancestors.

The czar Peter was at this very time thinking of seizing upon Ingria and Carelia. The Russians had formerly been in possession of those provinces; but the Swedes had made themselves masters of them by force of arms, in the time of the false Demetrius's, and had continued to preserve them by treaties. A new war and new treaties, might restore them again to Russia. Patkul went from Dresden to Moscow, and by stimulating the two monarchs to avenge his private cause, he cemented their union, and hastened their preparations for seizing the whole of the country to the east and south of Finland.

At this very time Frederick IV. the new king of Denmark, entered into a league with the czar and the king of Poland, against the young Charles, who seemed unable to withstand their united attack. Patkul had the satisfaction to besiege the Swedes in Riga, the capital of Livonia, and to direct the attack in quality of major-general.

The czar marched about twenty thousand men towards Ingria. It is true, that in this great army there were not above twelve thousand good soldiers, and these were such as he had disciplined himself; namely, the two regiments of guards, and some few others; the rest consisted of a militia indifferently armed, and of some Cossacks and Circassian Tartars; but he took with him an hundred and forty-five pieces of cannon. He laid siege to Narva, a little town in Ingria, which has

a convenient harbour; and it seemed very likely that the place would soon surrender.

All Europe knows how Charles XII. when not quite eighteen years old, made an attack on all his enemies, one after the other, marched into Denmark, put an end to the war in that kingdom in less than six weeks, sent succours to Riga, obliged the enemy to raise the siege, and marched against the Russians before Narva, through the midst of snow and ice, in the month of November. Sept.
1700.

The czar confiding in the certainty of taking the town, was gone to Novogorod, and had taken with him his favourite Menzikoff, who was at that time a lieutenant in the company of bombardiers in the regiment of Preobazinski, and who afterwards became a field-marshal and a prince; a man, whose singular fortune entitles him to be spoken of more at large in another part of our work.

Peter intrusted the command of his army, and his instructions for the siege, to the prince of Croy, a native of Flanders, who had lately entered into his service *. Prince Dolgorouky was commissary of the army. The jealousy between these two chiefs, and the czar's absence, were in part the cause of the unparalleled defeat at Narva. Charles XII. having landed with his troops at Pernau in Livonia, in the month of October, advanced northward to Revel, and in these parts defeated an advanced party of Russians. He continued his route, and meeting with another body, beat that likewise. Those who escaped, returned to the camp before Narva, and filled it with consternation. They were at this time in the month of November, and Narva, though badly besieged, was on the point of surrendering. The young king of Sweden had at that time with him not more than nine thousand men, and could bring only ten pieces of cannon against the hundred and forty-five with which the Russian intrenchments were lined. All the accounts of that time, and all historians, without exception, agree in making the

* See the History of Charles XII.

number of the Russian army before Narva, amount to fourcore thousand combatants. Some of the papers I have been furnished with say sixty, and others forty thousand; be that as it may, it is certain that Charles had not quite nine thousand, and that this battle was one of those which prove, that ever since the battle of Arbela*, the greatest victories have often been gained by inferior numbers.

Charles did not hesitate a single moment to attack with his little troop this army, which was superior to his in number; and taking advantage of a high wind and a great fall of snow, which blew full in the faces of the Russians, began an attack on their entrenchments, under cover of a few pieces of cannon advantageously posted. The Russians had not time to form themselves in the midst of this cloud of snow, that beat directly in their faces; and being exposed to cannon they could not see, had no idea of the smallness of the number they had to oppose. The prince of Croy attempted to deliver his orders, but prince Dolgorouky refused to receive them. The Russian officers rose upon the German officers, and assassinated the prince's secretary, with colonel Lyon, and several others. Every man quitted his post, and tumult, confusion, and terror spread throughout the army. The Swedish troops had nothing more to do, than to kill men who were flying. Some ran and threw themselves into the river Narva, where great numbers were drowned; the rest threw down their arms, and fell upon their knees before the Swedes. The prince of Croy, general Allard, and the German officers, dreading the mutinous Russians more than the Swedes, came and surrendered themselves to count Steinbok. The king of Sweden being now master of all the artillery, saw thirty thousand of the vanquished enemy at his feet, laying down their arms, and filing off bareheaded before him. The knez Dolgorouky, and all the other

* A city of Assyria, (now called Curdestan) near which the decisive battle was fought between Alexander the Great and Darius. T.

Muscovite generals, came and surrendered themselves to him, as the Germans had done; but did not learn, till after their surrender, that they had been conquered by eight thousand men. Amongst the prisoners was the son of the king of Georgia, who was sent to Stockholm; he was called Mittelefski Czarowitz, or the son of a czar; a new proof this, that the title of Czar, or Tzar, does not derive its origin from the Roman Cæsars.

On the side of Charles XII. there were not more than twelve hundred men slain in this battle. The czar's journal, which has been sent to me from Petersburg, says, that including the soldiers killed during the siege of Narva, and in the battle, and those who were drowned in their flight, he lost only six thousand men. The sudden panick, and want of discipline therefore, did every thing on that day. The prisoners of war were four times more numerous than their conquerors, and, if we may believe Norberg *, count Piper, who was afterwards taken prisoner by the Russians, reproached them, that the number of their people made prisoners at that battle, was eight times greater than that of the whole Swedish army. If this fact was true, the Swedes must have made seventy thousand prisoners. This is sufficient to let us see, how seldom writers are well informed of particular circumstances. One thing, however, equally singular and indisputable, is, that Charles permitted half of the Russian soldiers to return home disarmed, and the other half to repass the river with their arms. This strange presumption restored troops to the czar, that being afterwards well disciplined, became redoubtable †.

The king of Sweden obtained all the advantages that could be derived from a complete victory; immense magazines, transports laden with provisions, posts eva-

* P. 449, of the first volume of the 4to edition printed at the Hague.

† The chaplain Norberg pretends that the Grand Turk, immediately after the battle of Narva, wrote a congratulatory letter to the king of Sweden, in these terms: "The sultan Bassa, by the grace of God, &c. to Charles XII. &c." The letter is dated from the æra of the creation of the world. V.

cuated or taken, the whole country at the disposal of the Swedes; these were the fruits of his good fortune. Narva being now delivered, the remains of the Russian troops not able to shew themselves, and the whole country open as far as Pleskow, the czar seemed to be deprived of all resources for carrying on the war; and Charles XII. having in less than a twelvemonth overcome the monarchs of Denmark, Poland, and Russia, was considered as the greatest man in Europe, at a time when others hardly presume to aspire at reputation. But Peter, whose unshaken constancy formed a striking part of his character, was not to be discouraged in any of his projects.

A Russian bishop composed a prayer to St. Nicholas †, on account of this defeat, and it was made use of throughout Russia. This composition, which serves to shew the ignorance of the times, and the profound ignorance from which Peter delivered his country, says, amongst other things, that the enraged and horrible Swedes were forcerers, and complains that the saint had entirely abandoned the Russians. The Russian bishops of the present day, would certainly not compose such pieces as this; and, without any offence to St. Nicholas, the people soon perceived that Peter was the person the most proper to be applied to.

† This prayer is printed in most of the journals and histories of those times, and may be found in the History of Charles XII. king of Sweden. V.

C H A P. XII.

*The Czar's Resources after the Battle of Narva.—That Disaster entirely repaired.—Victory obtained by Peter near the same Place.—The Person who was afterwards Empress, taken at the storming of a Town.—Peter's Successes.—His Triumph at Moscow *.*

THE czar having quitted his army before Narva, towards the close of November 1700, in order to go and concert matters with the king of Poland, received, on his way, the news of the victory gained by the Swedes. His firmness in every emergency was equal to the intrepid and obstinate valour of Charles XII. He deferred his intended conference with Augustus, and hastened to repair the disordered state of his affairs. The scattered remains of his army were collected together at Great Novogorod, and from thence they proceeded to Pleskow, on the lake Peipus.

To be able to stand on the defensive, after so severe a check, was certainly no little matter: "I am aware," said the czar, that the Swedes will for a long time have the advantage of us, but at length they will teach us to conquer them."

Peter, after having provided for the present emergency, and ordered recruits to be raised on every side, hastened to Moscow, in order to superintend the casting of cannon. He had lost all his own before Narva. There being a want of metal, he took the bells from the churches and monasteries. This action certainly afforded no appearance of superstition; nor on the other hand, could it be considered as a mark of impiety. With these bells were made an hundred large cannon, an hundred and forty-three field-pieces, from three to six pounders, with a great number of mortars and hautbitzers, all of which the czar sent to Pleskow. In

* This and the following chapters are taken entirely from the journal of Peter the Great, sent from Petersburg.

other countries the sovereign orders, and others execute; but at that time, Peter was obliged to see every thing done himself. While he was hastening these preparations, he negotiated with the king of Denmark, who engaged to furnish him with three regiments of infantry and three of cavalry; an engagement which that monarch did not dare to fulfil.

This treaty was no sooner signed than the czar hastened back towards the theatre of the war, after holding a conference with king Augustus at Birza, on the frontiers of Courland and Lithuania. The czar found it necessary to confirm this prince in his resolution of carrying on the war against Charles, and at the same time to engage the diet of Poland to enter into it. It is well known, that a king of Poland is only the head of a republick. The czar had the advantage of being always obeyed, but a king of Poland, a king of England, and at present a king of Sweden †, are all obliged to negotiate with their subjects. Patkul and a few Poles, who were in the interest of their sovereign, were present at this interview. Peter promised subsidies, and five and twenty thousand men; Lithuania was to be restored to Poland, in case the diet would unite with their sovereign, and assist them in recovering this province. Fear had a greater effect on the diet than the czar's proposals, for the Poles thought their liberties equally in danger from the Saxons and Russians, and they were still more afraid of Charles XII. The majority of the assembly therefore came to a resolution not to serve their king, and not to fight.

The king of Poland's partizans became exasperated against the opposite party, so that the intention of Augustus to restore a considerable province to Poland, became the source of a civil war.

Feb. The czar then found only an impotent ally in king Augustus, and a feeble succour in the Saxon troops. The terror spread on every side by the king of Sweden, reduced Peter to the necessity of relying solely on his own strength.

† See the note in page 356.

After having travelled from Moscow to Courland with the utmost expedition, in order to confer with Augustus, he hastened back from Courland to Moscow, to fulfil his engagements without loss of time: and actually dispatched prince Repnin with four thousand men to Riga, on the banks of the Dwina, where the Saxons were at that time entrenched.

The general consternation was increased by the king of Sweden's passing the Dwina in spite of the Saxons, who were advantageously posted on the opposite side, and gained a compleat victory over them; after which, without a moment's delay, he made himself master of Courland, marched into Lithuania, and encouraged the Polish faction that opposed king Augustus.

Peter, notwithstanding all these discouraging circumstances, still persevered in his designs. General Patkul, who had been the soul of the conferences at Birza, and who had engaged in his service, procured him some German officers, disciplined his troops, and supplied the place of general Le Fort. He might even be said to have brought to perfection, what the other had only begun. The czar ordered relays of horses to be provided for all the officers, and even for the German, Livonian, and Polish soldiers, who came to serve in his army; he likewise carefully inspected every particular relating to their arms, cloathing, and subsistence.

On the borders of Livonia and Esthonia, and to the westward of the province of Novogorod, is situated the great lake Peipus, into which the river Velika, after flowing through the southern part of Livonia, empties itself. The river Naiova, that washes the walls of the town of Narva, near which the Swedes gained their celebrated victory, takes its rise from the northern part of this lake, which is thirty-one leagues in length, and from twelve to fifteen in breadth. It was requisite to keep a fleet there, to hinder the Swedish ships from insulting the province of Novogorod, and to be in readiness to make a descent upon their coasts,
but

but above all, to be a nursery for seamen. The czar employed the whole of the year 1701, in constructing on this lake an hundred half gallies, that were to carry about fifty men each: other armed boats were fitted out on lake Ladoga. He attended in person to direct all these operations, and set his new sailors to work. Those who had been stationed in 1697, on the Palus Mœotis, were now employed near the Baltick. Peter often quitted these works to visit Moscow, and his other provinces, in order to enforce the alterations he had already made, or to introduce new ones.

The princes who have employed the leisure hours of peace in erecting publick works, have acquired to themselves a name; but that Peter, after the unfortunate affair of Narva, should persist in his design of uniting the Baltick, Caspian, and Black Seas, by means of canals, is a circumstance attended with more real glory, than the gaining of a battle. It was in 1702, that he began to dig that deep canal, which extends from the Tanais to the Wolga. Other canals were to open a communication by means of lakes, between the Tanais and the Dwina, a river that empties itself into the Baltick near Riga. This second project, however, was still very remote, as Peter at that time was far from having Riga in his possession.

Charles was laying waste Poland, while Peter was employed in procuring from Poland and Saxony, shepherds and flocks of sheep, in order to have wool fit for manufacturing good cloth at Moscow; he likewise established manufactures of linen and paper; a number of workmen, such as smiths, braziers, armourers, and founders, were collected together by his orders, and the mines of Siberia ransacked for ore. He was incessantly employed in enriching his dominions, and in defending them. Charles pursued the course of his victories, and left, as he imagined, a sufficient body of troops on the frontiers of the czar's dominions, to secure all the possessions of Sweden. He had already formed the design of dethroning king Augustus, and

afterwards of pursuing the czar with his victorious army as far as Moscow.

There were several slight engagements this year between the Russians and Swedes. The latter were not always successful; and even those in which they had the advantage, served to improve the Russians in the art of war. In short, a year after the battle of Narva, the czar's troops were so well disciplined, that they defeated one of Charles's best generals. Peter at that time was at Pleskow, and from thence detached numerous bodies of troops on all sides to attack the Swedes. It was not a foreigner, but a Russian who defeated them. His general Sheremeto, by a skilful manœuvre, made himself master of several posts ^{1702,} near Derpt, belonging to Slippembac, the Swedish general, and at length gained a complete victory over that officer himself. The Russians for the first time, took from the Swedes four of their colours, which was thought a considerable number at that time. ^{Jan. 11.}

For some time afterwards, the lakes Peipus and Ladoga were the theatres of sea-fights; in which the Swedes had the same advantages as by land, namely, that of discipline and long practice; the Russians, however, were sometimes successful in their long galleys, and in a general engagement on lake Peipus, field marshal Sheremeto took a Swedish frigate.

It was by means of this lake Peipus, that the czar kept Livonia and Esthonia in continual alarms; his galleys frequently landed several regiments in those provinces, who reembarked whenever they failed of success, or else pursued their advantage. The Swedes were twice beaten in those parts, near Derpt, while they were victorious every where ^{June and July.} else.

The Russians in all these actions were always superior in number, and this was the reason that Charles XII. who was so successful in other places, gave himself little concern about the advantages thus gained by the czar; but he ought to have considered, that this great number was every day becoming more inured to

the art of war, and might soon become formidable to himself.

July. While the two powers were thus engaged by land and sea in Livonia, Ingria, and Esthonia, the czar was informed, that a Swedish fleet was preparing to attack Archangel; he immediately marched thither, and they were astonished to hear of his being on the borders of the Frozen Sea, at a time when he was supposed to be at Moscow. He put every thing into a state of defence, prevented the descent, drew the plan of a citadel himself, called the New Dwina, laid the first stone, returned to Moscow, and from thence to the seat of war. Charles made some progress in Poland; and the Russians advanced into Ingria and Livonia. Marshal Sheremeto marched to meet the Swedes, commanded by general Slippembac, and defeated them in a battle fought near the little river Embac, where he took from them sixteen colours and twenty pieces of cannon. Norberg speaks of this action, as having been fought on the first of December 1701; but the journal of Peter the Great, fixes it on the 19th of July 1702.

Aug. 6. Sheremeto marching onwards, laid the whole country under contribution, and took the little town of Mariembourg, on the confines of Livonia and Ingria. There are several towns of this name in the north; but this, though it no longer exists, is more famous than all the others, by the adventure of the empress Catharine.

This little town having surrendered at discretion, the Swedes, either inadvertently or by design, set fire to the magazines. The Russians, irritated at this, destroyed the place, and carried away all the inhabitants. Among the number was a young woman, by birth a Livonian, who had been educated by a Lutheran minister of the town named Gluck, and who afterwards became the sovereign of those who had taken her prisoner, and who governed the Russians by the name of the empress Catharine.

The Russians had been accustomed before this, to see private women raised to the throne; nothing was more common in their country, and in all the Asiatick kingdoms, than the marriage of sovereigns with their own subjects; but that a stranger, who had been taken prisoner in the sacking of a town, should become absolute sovereign of the empire into which she was introduced as a captive, is an instance which fortune and merit never produced before in the annals of the world.

The success of the Russians in Ingria was equally great; their fleet of half gallies on lake Ladoga, obliged the Swedish fleet to retreat to Wibourg, at one extremity of this great lake, from whence they could see the siege of Notebourg, at the other end, which the czar was carrying on by means of general Sheremeto. This was a much more important enterprize than was imagined, as it might open a communication with the Baltick Sea, an object Peter had constantly had in view.

Notebourg was a place strongly fortified, situated on an island in the lake Ladoga, which it entirely commands; so that whoever is in possession of this town, must be masters of the river Neva, which empties itself into the sea not far from thence; it was bombarded night and day, from the 18th of September to the 12th of October; at length the Russians gave a general assault, by three breaches. The Swedish garrison was reduced to an hundred men only, capable of defending the place; and what is very astonishing, they did defend it, and obtained, even in the breach, an honour-
 able capitulation; what is more, colonel Slip-
 pembac who commanded in the place, refused to sur-
 render, but upon condition of being permitted to send
 for two Swedish officers from the nearest fort, to ex-
 amine the breaches, and report to the king his master,
 that eighty-three men, who were all that were then left
 capable of bearing arms, and an hundred and fifty-six
 sick and wounded, did not surrender to a whole army,
 till it was impossible for them to fight any longer, or to

Octob.

preserve the place. This anecdote alone is sufficient to shew, what sort of enemies the czar had to contend with, and the necessity there was of all his efforts and his military discipline.

He distributed gold medals among his officers on this occasion, and rewarded all the soldiers, but at the same time punished a few who had run away during the assault: their comrades spit in their faces and afterwards shot them, thus adding disgrace to punishment.

Notebourg was repaired, and its name changed to that of Shluffelbourg, or the City of the Key, because this place is, in fact, the key of Ingria and Finland. The first governor was that Menzikoff, whom we formerly mentioned, and who was now become an excellent officer. Having signalized himself during the siege, he had merited this honour. His example tended to encourage all who had merit, without the advantages of birth.

The czar, after this campaign of 1702, resolved that Sheremeto and all the officers who had distinguished themselves, should enter Moscow in triumph. Dec. 17. All the prisoners taken in this campaign, marched in the train of the conquerors; the Swedish colours and standards, together with the flag of the frigate taken on lake Peipus, were carried before them. Peter himself assisted in the preparations for this pompous ceremony, in the same manner as he had assisted in the enterprizes it celebrated.

These solemnities were intended to inspire emulation, otherwise they would have been vain and ridiculous. Charles held every thing of this sort in contempt, and after the battle of Narva, equally despised his enemies, their efforts and their triumphs.

C H A P. XIII.

Reformation at Moscow.—Further Successes.—Foundation of Petersburg.—Peter takes Narva.

THE czar, during his short stay at Moscow, in the beginning of the winter 1703, employed himself in seeing all his new regulations put into execution, and in improving the civil as well as military government. Even his diversions were calculated to inspire his subjects with a relish for the new manner of living he had introduced among them. With this view he invited all the boyards and their ladies, to the marriage of one of his dwarfs: they were all required to appear dressed after the ancient fashion. The repast served up was like those of the sixteenth century*. It was an old superstitious notion, that no fire should be lighted on the wedding-day, even in the most rigorous season; this custom was strictly observed on this occasion. Formerly the Russians never drank wine, but only mead and brandy; no other liquors were allowed to be drank on this day. It was to no purpose that the guests made complaints, the czar answered jocosely, "Your ancestors used to live in this manner, old customs are always the best." This pleasantry contributed, perhaps, not a little to correct those who were continually preferring past times to the present; at any rate, it would render their murmurings of little avail. There are still several nations that stand in need of a similar example.

An establishment of still greater utility than any of the rest, was that of a printing-house for Russian and Latin types, the implements of which were all procured from Holland. They immediately began to print Russian translations of several books, on moral and scientific subjects. Ferguson established schools for geometry, astronomy, and navigation.

* Taken from the Journal of Peter the Great.

Another institution no less necessary, was that of a large hospital; not one of those hospitals which encourage idleness, and perpetuate poverty, but such as the czar had seen at Amsterdam, where old people and children are employed in some kind of labour or other; and where all who are maintained in it, are rendered useful to the state.

He established several manufactures, and had no sooner put all those new arts in motion, to which he gave birth in Moscow, than he hastened to Woronitz, where he gave directions for building two eighty-gun ships, with long cradles, exactly fitted to the sides of the ship, to buoy her up, and carry her, without risk, over the shoals and banks of sand that are met with about Asoph; a useful contrivance, nearly similar to that used in Holland, for getting large ships over the Pampus.

After making preparations for an enterprize ^{March} against the Turks, he hastened to oppose the ^{30.} Swedes, and visited Olonitz, a town situated between the lakes Ladoga and Onega, where he was building several ships. He had likewise established a manufactory of all kinds of arms at this place, where every thing bore the appearance of war, while at Moscow were seen to flourish all the arts of peace. A mineral spring that was afterwards discovered at Olonitz, increased the reputation of that place. From Olonitz he went to fortify Shluffelbourg.

We have already said, that he had resolved to pass through all the military degrees: he was lieutenant of bombardiers under prince Menzikoff, before that favourite was made governor of Shluffelbourg. He then took the rank of captain, and served under marshal Sheremeto.

There was an important fortress named Niantz, or Nya, situated near the lake Ladoga, and at a small distance only from the Neva. In order to secure his conquests, and favour his other designs, it was requisite that he should make himself master of this place; and to do this it was necessary, not only to besiege

besiege it by land, but also to prevent any succours from being brought to it by sea. The czar himself undertook to conduct a number of barks, filled with soldiers, and to keep off the Swedish ships that were bringing supplies. Sheremeto conducted the entrenchments, and the citadel surrendered. Two Swedish vessels that arrived too late to relieve it, were attacked by the czar with his barks, and taken. We find it mentioned in his Journal, that as a reward for his services, "the captain of bombardiers was created knight of the order of St. Andrew, by admiral Golovin, the first knight of that order."

After taking this fortress of Nya, the czar resolved to build his city of Petersburg at the mouth of the Neva, upon the gulph of Finland.

The affairs of king Augustus were become desperate; the repeated victories of the Swedes in Poland, had emboldened the opposite party, and even his friends had obliged him to dismiss about twenty thousand Russians, who had been sent by the czar to reinforce his army. They pretended, by this sacrifice, to deprive the malcontents of all pretext for uniting with the king of Sweden; but enemies are to be disarmed only by force, and an appearance of weakness serves only to embolden them. These twenty thousand men that had been disciplined by Patkul, were of great use in Livonia and Ingria, while Augustus was losing his dominions. This reinforcement, and above all, the possession of Nya, enabled Peter to found his new capital.

It was in this desert and marshy spot of ground, which has a communication with the main land only by a single road, that the czar laid the foundation* of Petersburg, in the sixtieth degree of latitude, and the forty-fourth and a half of longitude. The ruins of some of the bastions of Nya, were the first stones used in this foundation. They began by building a small fort in one of the islands, which at present is in the middle of the city. The Swedes were at first far from being

* Whitsunday, May the 27th, 1703.

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alarmed at this establishment, in the midst of a morass,
inaccessible to large ships; but it was not long before
they saw the fortifications advancing, a city forming,
and the little island of Cronstot, situated over-against
it, changed in 1704, into an impregnable fortress,
under the cannon of which, even the greatest fleets may
ride with safety.

These works, which seemed to require a time of peace,
were carried on in the midst of war; and workmen of
every kind came from Moscow, Astracan, Casan, and
the Ukraine, to assist in erecting this new city. Nei-
ther the difficulties of the soil, that was to be raised
and rendered firm, the distance of the necessary ma-
terials, the unforeseen obstacles that are incessantly
starting up in great undertakings of every kind; nor,
lastly, the epidemical diseases, which carried off a pro-
digious number of workmen, could discourage the
royal founder; and in the space of five months,
there was really a city erected. It is true, indeed,
that this city was little better than a cluster of huts,
with only two brick-houses, surrounded by ram-
parts; but this was all that was then necessary. Perse-
verance and time accomplished the rest. In less than
five months after the new city was founded, a Dutch
ship came to trade there, the captain of which received
Nov. handsome presents, and the Dutch soon found the
way to Petersburg.

While the czar was directing this colony, he did not
omit to provide for its security, by making himself
master of the neighbouring posts. A Swedish colonel
named Croniort, had posted himself on the river Sestra,
and from thence threatened the rising town. Peter
marched against him with his two regiments of
July guards, defeated him, and obliged him to pass the
9. river. After having secured the safety of his city,
he repaired to Olonitz, to give directions for building se-
veral small ships, and returned to Petersburg on board
Sept. a frigate that had been built by his orders, taking
with him six transports for present use, till the
other could be got ready.

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He still continued favourably disposed towards the king of Poland, to whom he sent a reinforcement of twelve thousand foot, and a subsidy of three hundred thousand rubles, a sum equal to about fifteen hundred thousand livres of our money *. We have already remarked, that his annual revenue did not exceed five millions of rubles, a sum that would seem hardly sufficient to defray the expences of his fleets and armies, and his new establishments. He had almost at one and the same time fortified Novogorod, Pleskow, Kiow, Smolensko, Asoph, and Archangel, and had likewise founded a capital, yet he still found himself able to assist his ally with men and money. Cornelius le Bruine, a Dutchman, who travelled about that time into Russia, and with whom Peter conversed, as he was accustomed to do with all strangers, says, that the czar assured him, that after all the expences of the war were defrayed, he should still have three hundred thousand rubles in his coffers.

That he might effectually secure his infant city of Petersburg from insult, he went himself to sound the depth of the sea thereabouts, marked out the ground upon which the fort of Cronstot was to be erected, and after making the model of it in wood with his own hands, left the execution of the work to Menzikoff. From thence he went to pass the winter at Moscow, in order to establish insensibly, as it were, the alterations he had made in the laws, manners, and customs of his country. He regulated his finances, and put this department upon a new footing; he accelerated the works that were carried on in the 1704, Woronitz, at Asoph, and in an harbour which he Jan. had formed on the Palus Mœotis, under the fort of Taganrok.

The Porte being alarmed, sent an ambassador to the czar to complain of all these preparations; Peter replied, that he was master in his own dominions, as well as the Grand Seignior was in his; and that it was no in-

* 60,000l. Sterling.

fringement of the peace, to render Russia a respectable power on the Euxine Sea.

Returning to Petersburgh, and finding his new ^{30.} citadel of Cronstot finished, he furnished it with artillery. In order to secure a firm footing in Ingria, and completely wipe away the disgrace he had experienced before Narva, he thought it necessary to make himself master of that city. Whilst he was preparing for the siege, a small fleet of Swedish ships appeared on the lake Peipus to oppose his designs. The Russian half galleys went out to meet them, and attacked, and took the whole squadron, which had on board ninety-eight pieces of cannon. After this success, Narva was besieged by the Russians, both by sea and land; and what is more extraordinary, they laid siege to the city of Derpt in Esthonia at the same time.

Who would have supposed, that there was an university in Derpt? One had been founded there by Gustavus Adolphus, but it had not rendered the city more famous. Derpt being known only by these two sieges. Peter was incessantly going from one to the other, to hasten the attacks, and direct all the operations. Slippembac the Swedish general, was in the neighbourhood of Derpt with about five and twenty hundred men.

The besieged were in momentary expectation of his throwing succours into the place. Peter on this occasion, had recourse to a stratagem of war, which deserves to be more frequently imitated. He ordered two regiments of infantry and one of cavalry, to be furnished with the same uniforms, standards, and colours, as the Swedes. These pretended Swedes attacked the trenches; the Russians feigned a retreat, and the garrison, deceived by these appearances, made a sally; upon which the pretended attacking and attacked parties joined their forces, and fell upon the Swedish garrison, one half of which was killed upon the spot, and the rest made shift to get back to the town. Slippembac arrived soon after, in order to relieve it, but was entirely

entirely defeated. At length Derpt was obliged July to capitulate, at the moment when the czar was ²³ preparing to give a general assault.

A considerable check which the czar met with about the same time on the side of his new city of Peterburgh, did not prevent him either from going on with the works of that place, or from vigorously prosecuting the siege of Narva. He had sent, as we have already observed, both troops and money to king Augustus, who was on the point of being driven from his throne; both these supplies proved equally useless. The Russians having joined the Lithuanians in the interest of Augustus, were entirely defeated in Courland by the Swedish general Lewenhaupt. If the Swedes after this had directed their efforts towards Livonia, Esthonia, July and Ingria, they might have destroyed the czar's ³¹ new works, and blasted all the fruits of his great enterprises. Peter was every day undermining the breastwork of Sweden, and Charles seemed to neglect the necessary resistance, for the pursuit of a less advantageous, though a more brilliant species of glory.

A single Swedish colonel at the head of his detachment, on the 12th of July 1704, had obliged the Polish nobility to elect a new king, on the field of election, named Kolo, near Warsaw. A cardinal, primate of the kingdom, and several bishops, submitted to a Lutheran prince, notwithstanding the menaces and excommunications of the pope: every thing yielded to force. Every body knows the manner in which Stanislaus Leczinski was elected, and how Charles XII. obliged the greatest part of Poland to acknowledge him as king.

Peter, instead of abandoning the dethroned king, redoubled his assistance in proportion to the misfortunes of his ally; and while his enemy was making kings, he beat the Swedish generals one after another in Esthonia and Ingria, and from thence repaired to the siege of Narva, where he gave directions for a general assault. There were three bastions, famous at least for their names, called Victory, Honour, and Glory. The czar carried

carried them all three sword in hand. The besiegers entered into the town, pillaged it, and exercised all those cruelties which at that time were but too customary between the Russians and Swedes.

On this occasion Peter afforded an example, ^{Aug.} that ought to have conciliated the affections of all ^{20.} his new subjects. He ran every where in person, to put a stop to the pillage and slaughter; rescued several women from the hands of his soldiers, and, after killing two of them who had refused to obey his orders, entered the town-house, whither the citizens had fled in crowds for shelter, and laying his sword, reeking with blood upon the table, "It is not with the blood of the inhabitants, said he, that this sword is stained, but with that of my own soldiers, which I have spilt to save your lives."

C H A P. XIV.

*All Ingria remains in the Possession of Peter the Great, while Charles XII. is triumphant in other Places.—Rise of Menzikoff.—Petersburgh secured.—Peter executes his Designs notwithstanding Charles's Victories.**

^{1704.} **P**ETER having now made himself master of all Ingria, conferred the government of that province upon Menzikoff; and at the same time gave him the title of prince, and the rank of major-general. Pride and prejudice might, in other countries, have taken offence at a pastry-cook's boy being raised to the dignities of general, governor, and prince; but Peter had already accustomed his subjects to see, without surprize, every thing given to merit, and nothing to mere nobility. Menzikoff had, by a fortunate accident, been taken from his original calling while a boy, and

* All the chapters preceding this, as well as those which follow, are taken from the Journal of Peter the Great, and the papers sent me from Petersburgh, compared with other memoirs. V.

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placed

placed in the czar's family, where he learned several languages, and acquired a knowledge of publick affairs, both in the field and in the cabinet; and having found means to ingratiate himself with his master, he afterwards knew how to render himself necessary. He expedited the works at Petersburgh, where they had already erected several brick and stone-houses, an arsenal and magazines; the fortifications were completed, but the palaces were not erected till some time afterwards.

Peter was no sooner in possession of Narva, than he offered fresh succours to the dethroned king of Poland; he promised him a body of troops over and above the twelve thousand men he had already sent him, and actually dispatched general Repnin with six thousand foot and the same number of horse, from the borders of Lithuania. In the mean time, he did not lose sight of his colony of Petersburgh a single moment; the number of buildings increased daily; several ships and frigates were on the stocks at Olonitz; he went to see these finished, and conducted them himself into the harbour of Petersburgh. August 19.

His return to Moscow, was constantly distinguished by a triumphal entry: it was in this manner, that he revisited it this year; he remained there till the spring, when he repaired to Woronitz, to be present at the launching of his first eighty gun ship, the dimensions of which he had drawn himself the year before. Dec. 30.

He hastened to the army he had sent to the assistance of Augustus, on the frontiers of Lithuania, as soon as the campaign could be opened in Poland; but while he was thus supporting his ally, a Swedish fleet put to sea to destroy Petersburgh and Cronslot, which were as yet hardly finished. This fleet consisted of twenty-two men of war, from fifty-four to sixty-four guns each, besides six frigates, two bomb-ketches, and two fire-ships. The Swedish troops that were sent on this expedition, made a descent on the little island of Kotlin; May 1705. June 27. but

but a Russian colonel named Tolbogwin, having ordered his regiment to lie down flat on their bellies, while the Swedes were landing, they threw in so brisk and well regulated a fire, that the latter were put into confusion, and obliged to make a precipitate retreat to their ships, leaving behind them all their dead, and about three hundred prisoners.

Their fleet, however, still continued hovering about the coast, and threatening Petersburg. They attempted another descent, but were repulsed as before. A body of Swedish troops were also advancing from Wibourg, under the command of general Meidel; they took their route by Shluffelbourg; this was the greatest enterprize that Charles XII. had as yet attempted upon the territories, which Peter had either conquered or
 June new formed. The Swedes were every where
 25. repulsed, and Petersburg remained secure.

On the other hand, Peter advanced towards Courland, with an intention of penetrating as far as Riga. His plan was to get possession of Livonia, while Charles XII. was employed in completing the submission of the Poles to the new king he had given them. The czar was still at Wilnaw in Lithuania; and marshal Sheremeto was approaching towards Mittau, the capital of Courland, where he found general Lewenhaupt, who was already famous for the victories he had gained. A pitched battle was fought between the two armies, at a place called Gemaverthof, or Gemavers.

In those actions, where experience and discipline determine the fate of the day, the Swedes, though inferior in number, had always the advantage. The Russians were entirely defeated, and all their artillery taken. Peter, notwithstanding these repeated
 July 28. defeats at Gemavers, Jacobstadt, and Narva, always retrieved his losses, and even turned them to his advantage.

He marched his army into Courland after the
 Sept. battle of Gemavers, and arriving before Mit-
 14. tau, made himself master of the town, and laid siege to the citadel, which he took by capitulation.

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The Russian troops at that time, had the reputation of signalizing their successes by pillage, a custom of too great antiquity in all nations. But at the taking of Narva, Peter had so far corrected this custom, that the Russian soldiers ordered to guard the vaults where the grand dukes of Courland were interred, in the castle of Mittau, perceiving that the dead bodies had been taken out of their tombs and plundered of their ornaments, refused to take possession of their post, till a Swedish colonel had been sent for to inspect the state of the place, who gave them a certificate, that this outrage had been committed by the Swedish troops.

The report that had spread throughout the empire, that the czar had been totally defeated at the affair of Gemavers, proved more prejudicial to him than the battle itself. The remainder of the ancient strelitzes, who were in garrison at Astracan, emboldened by this false report, mutinied; they assassinated the governor of the town, and the czar was obliged to send marshal Sheremeto with a body of troops to quell this disturbance, and punish the mutineers.

Every thing conspired against him; the good fortune and valour of Charles XII. the misfortunes of Augustus; the forced neutrality of Denmark; the revolt of the ancient strelitzes; the murmurings of a people sensible of the restraint, but not of the utility of the late reform; the discontent of the nobility, who found themselves subjected to military discipline; and lastly, the exhausted state of the finances, were sufficient to have discouraged any prince except Peter; but he did not feel himself discouraged, even for a single moment. He quelled the insurrection, and having provided for the security of Ingria, and secured the possession of the citadel of Mittau, in spite of the victorious Lewenhaupt, who had not an army sufficient to oppose him, he found himself at liberty to march his troops through Samogitia and Lithuania.

He now partook with Charles XII. in the glory of prescribing laws to Poland; he advanced as far as Tinkoczin, where he had an interview for the second time

with

with king Augustus; he endeavoured to comfort him under his misfortunes, promised to revenge his cause, and made him a present of some colours that had been taken from his rival's troops by prince Menzikoff. They afterwards went to Grodno, the capital of Lithuania, where they remained till the 15th of December. At their parting, the czar left with him both men and money; and then, according to his usual custom, went to pass some part of the winter at Moscow, to encourage the arts, and enforce his new laws, after having made a very laborious campaign.

CHAP. XV.

While Peter secures his Conquests and improves his Dominions, Charles XII. gains several Battles, and gives Laws to Poland and Saxony.—Augustus, notwithstanding a Victory gained by the Russians, is obliged to submit to Charles.—He resigns the Crown, and delivers up Patkul the Czar's Ambassador.—Murder of Patkul, who is condemned to be broke upon the Wheel.

1706. **T**HE czar was no sooner returned to Moscow, than he heard that Charles XII. after repeated victories, was advancing towards Grodno to attack the Russian army. King Augustus had been obliged to fly from Grodno, and make a precipitate retreat into Saxony, with four regiments of Russian dragoons; thus weakening the army of his protector, and discouraging it by his retreat. The czar found all the advances to Grodno occupied by the Swedes, and his army dispersed.

While he was collecting together, with extreme difficulty, his troops in Lithuania, the celebrated Schu- lembourg, who was the last support Augustus had left, and who afterwards acquired so much glory by defending Corfu, against the Turks, was advancing on the side of Great Poland with about twelve thousand Saxons,

Saxons, and six thousand Russians, taken from the body of troops with which the czar had entrusted that unfortunate prince. Schulembourg had good reason to hope, that he should be able to support the fortune of Augustus; he saw that Charles XII. was at that time employed in Lithuania, and that there were only about ten thousand Swedes under general Renschild, who could possibly interrupt his march; he therefore advanced with confidence as far as the frontiers of Silesia, which is the passage from Saxony into Upper Poland. When he had reached the little town of Fraustadt, on the frontiers of Poland, he found marshal Renschild, who was come to give him battle.

Notwithstanding the pains I am at to avoid repeating what I have already mentioned in the History of Charles XII. I think it necessary for me to observe again in this place, that there was in the Saxon army a French regiment, the whole of which had been taken prisoners at the famous battle of Blenheim, and obliged to serve among the Saxon troops. My papers say, that this regiment had the care of the artillery; and add, that these Frenchmen being struck with the fame of Charles XII. and discontented with the Sax- Feb. 6.
on service, laid down their arms the moment they came in sight of the enemy, and requested to be taken into the Swedish army, in which they actually continued to the end of the war. This desertion, was the beginning and signal of a total defeat. Not three battalions of the Russians were saved, and almost every man who did escape was wounded; all the rest were cut in pieces, no quarter being granted to any one. The chaplain Norberg pretends, that the Swedish word at this battle was, "In the name of God;" and that of the Russians, "Kill all;" but it was the Swedes who killed all in God's name. Peter himself, in one of his manifestoes*, declares, that a great number of Russians, Cossacks, and Calmucks, who had been taken prisoners, were put to death three days after the battle. The irregular troops of the two armies, had

* The czar's manifesto in the Ukraine, 1709.

accustomed their generals to these cruelties, greater than which were never committed, even in the most barbarous ages. King Stanislaus did me the honour to inform me, that in one of those engagements, which were so frequent in Poland, a Russian officer with whom he had lived in friendship, came to put himself under his protection, after the defeat of the troops he commanded; and that Steinbok, the Swedish general, shot him dead with a pistol, while he held him in his arms.

The Russians had now lost four battles against the Swedes, without reckoning the other victories of Charles XII. in Poland. The czar's troops that were in Grodno, were in danger of suffering a still greater disgrace, by being surrounded on all sides; but by good fortune he contrived to collect them together, and even to reinforce them. But it was necessary at once to provide for the safety of this army, and to secure his conquests in Ingria; he therefore ordered prince Menzikoff to march with his army eastward, and from thence southward as far as Kiow.

While this army was upon its march, Peter August. repaired to Shluffelbourg and Narva, and from thence to his colony of Petersburgh. After seeing that all those places were in a state of security, he hastened from the Baltick Sea to the banks of the Boristhenes, in order to enter into Poland by the way of Kiow, constantly devising means to render the victories of Charles XII. which he had not been able to prevent, of as little advantage to that prince as possible. At this very time, Peter was meditating a new conquest; namely, that of Wibourg, the capital of Carelia, situated on the gulph of Finland. He laid siege to it in person, but for this time it resisted the power of his arms, for succours came to it in season, and the czar was obliged to raise the siege. Charles XII. his rival, did not in fact make any conquests, though he gained so many battles; he was at that time pursuing king Augustus in Saxony, being always more intent upon humbling that prince, and crushing him beneath the weight of his power and fame, than upon recovering

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ing Ingria from a vanquished enemy who had wrested it from him.

Charles XII. spread terror throughout Upper Poland, Silesia, and Saxony. The whole family of Augustus, his mother, his wife, his son, and the principal families of the country, retired into the heart of the empire. Augustus implored for peace, choosing rather to rely on the mercy of his conqueror, than to take shelter in the arms of his protector. He negotiated a treaty which deprived him of the crown of Poland, and covered him with ignominy. This was a secret treaty; it was necessary to conceal it from the czar's generals, with whom he had at that time taken refuge in Poland, while Charles XII. was giving laws in Leipfick, and was master of his whole electorate. The fatal treaty by which he renounced his pretensions to the crown of Poland, and promised never more to assume the title of king of that country; was already signed by his plenipotentiaries. By this Sept. 24. same treaty he acknowledged Stanislaus, renounced his alliance with the czar his benefactor; and to complete his disgrace, engaged to deliver up to the king of Sweden John Reinhold Patkul, the czar's ambassador, and general of the Russian troops who were at that time actually fighting in his defence. Some time before this he had ordered Patkul to be arrested upon false suspicions, contrary to the law of nations; and in direct violation of those laws, he now delivered him up to the enemy. To have died sword in hand, would have been better than to have concluded such a treaty, which not only deprived him of his crown and reputation, but likewise endangered his liberty, because he was at that time in the hands of prince Menzikoff in Posenania, and the few Saxons who were with him, received their pay from the Russians.

Prince Menzikoff had to contend in those parts with a Swedish army, reinforced with a party of Poles in the interest of the new king Stanislaus, and commanded by general Maderfeld; and not knowing that Augustus had engaged in a treaty with his enemies, he

proposed to attack them. Augustus did not dare to
 Oa. 19. refuse; the battle was fought near Kalish, in
 the palatinate belonging to Stanislaus; this was
 the first pitched battle the Russians had gained against
 the Swedes. Prince Menzikoff had all the glory of
 this victory; four thousand of the enemy were left dead
 on the field, and two thousand five hundred and nine-
 ty-eight taken prisoners.

It seems difficult to conceive, how Augustus after
 this success, could be induced to ratify a treaty, which
 deprived him of all the fruits of the victory; but
 Charles was in Saxony, and still triumphant; his very
 name spread so much terror, the success of the Rus-
 sians was esteemed of so little importance, the Polish
 party against Augustus was so strong, and in a word,
 Augustus was so ill advised, that he signed that fatal
 treaty. He did not stop there; he wrote to Finkstein
 his envoy, a letter that was even more disgraceful than
 the treaty itself, for he asks pardon in it for the victory
 he had obtained; protesting, "that the battle had
 " been fought against his will; that the Russians
 " and Poles of his party had forced him to it; that
 " with a view of preventing it, he had made some
 " movements to abandon Menzikoff; that Maderfeld
 " might have beaten him, if he had taken the proper
 " advantage of those movements; that he would re-
 " store all the Swedish prisoners, or break with the
 " Russians; and that in short, he would give the king
 " of Sweden all possible satisfaction, for having pre-
 " sumed to beat his troops."

All this is singular and inconceivable, and yet per-
 fectly true. When we reflect, that notwithstanding all
 this weakness, Augustus was one of the bravest princes in
 Europe, we may clearly perceive, that the preservation
 or loss, the rise or decline of states, depend wholly on
 fortitude of mind.

Two other circumstances served to complete the dis-
 grace of the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, and
 the abuse the king of Sweden made of his good for-
 tune; the first was a letter of congratulation, which

Charles

Charles obliged Augustus to write to the new king Stanislaus; the second was horrid: this same Augustus was compelled to deliver up Patkul, the czar's ambassador and general. It is well known to all Europe, that this minister was afterwards broke alive upon the wheel at Casimir, in the month of September 1707. The chaplain Norberg acknowledges that all the orders for this execution were written in Charles's own hand.

There is not in all Europe a civilian, or even a slave, but must feel all the horror of this barbarous injustice. The first crime of this unfortunate person, was the having made a respectful representation of the rights of his country, at the head of six Livonian gentlemen, who were deputed by the province for that purpose; having been condemned to die, for fulfilling the first of duties, that of serving his country in a legal way; this unjust sentence, put him in full possession of a natural right, which all mankind have of choosing their country. Being afterwards appointed ambassador to one of the greatest monarchs upon earth, his person was sacred. On this occasion, therefore, the law of nature and nations was violated by the law of force. Formerly the blaze of glory was sufficient to cover such cruelties, but in these days they tarnish it.

C H A P. XVI.

A third King attempted to be elected in Poland.—Charles XII. sets out from Saxony with a powerful Army, and marches through Poland as a Conqueror.—Cruelties committed.—Conduct of the Czar.—Success of Charles, who at length advances towards Russia.

CHARLES XII. enjoyed the fruits of his success at Altranstadt, in the neighbourhood of Leipstick. The protestant princes of the empire repaired in crowds to pay him homage, and request

quest his protection. Almost all the powers of Europe sent ambassadors to him. The emperor Joseph followed his directions in every thing. Peter then Jan. perceiving, that king Augustus had renounced his protection and the throne, and that a part of Poland recognized Stanislaus, listened to the proposal made him by Yolkova, of electing a third king.

Several palatines were proposed in a diet held at Lublin; and among others, prince Ragotski; this was the prince, who, when young, had been long confined in prison by the emperor Leopold; and who afterwards, when he procured his liberty, was his competitor for the throne of Hungary. This negotiation was carried very far, so that Poland was on the point of having three kings at one time. Prince Ragotski not having been able to succeed, Peter was desirous of bestowing the crown on Simiaufski, grand general of the republick, a person of great authority and interest, and who was the leader of a third party, that would neither acknowledge the dethroned Augustus, nor Stanislaus, who had been elected by a different party.

Amidst these troubles, peace was talked of, as usual. Besséval, the French envoy in Saxony, interposed, in order to bring about a reconciliation between the czar and the king of Sweden. The court of France began to think that Charles having no longer either Russians or Poles to oppose him, might turn his arms against the emperor Joseph, with whom he was dissatisfied, and on whom he had even imposed several severe laws during his stay in Saxony. But Charles replied, that he would treat with the czar in Moscow. It was on this occasion that Peter said, "My brother Charles wants to figure as an Alexander, but he shall not find me a Darius."

In the mean time the Russians were still in Poland, and even at Warsaw, while the king whom Charles XII. had given to the Poles, was hardly acknowledged by them, and Charles was enriching his troops with the spoils of Saxony.

At length he set out from Altranstadt, at the head of forty-five thousand men; an army which it seemed impossible for the czar to withstand, since at Narva he had been entirely defeated by eight thousand.

It was in passing by the walls of Dresden, that he made that singular visit to king Augustus; which, according to Norberg, "cannot fail to excite the admiration of posterity." It may at any rate strike them with astonishment. It was certainly running a great risk, thus to put himself in the power of a prince whom he had deprived of his kingdom. He continued his route from thence through Silesia, and re-entered Poland.

This country was at that time entirely desolated by war, ruined by factions, and a prey to calamities of every kind. Charles advanced through Masovia, and chose the most difficult roads he could meet with. The inhabitants who had taken shelter in the fens, were resolved that he should at least pay for his passage. Six thousand peasants deputed an old man of their body to speak to him; this person, who was of an extraordinary figure, cloathed in white, and armed with two carabines, harangued Charles; but as the people about him did not very well understand what he said, they without any further ceremony, dispatched him in the midst of his speech, and before the king's face. The peasants enraged at this treatment withdrew and took up arms. The Swedes seized all who could be found, and obliged them to hang one another; the last was compelled to put the rope about his neck himself, and to be his own executioner. All their habitations were burnt to the ground. This fact is attested by the chaplain Norberg, who was an eye-witness; we are neither able to contradict it, or to relate it without shuddering.

When Charles had advanced to within a few leagues of Grodno in Lithuania, he was informed that the czar was there in person with a few troops; upon which, without staying to deliberate, he took with him only eight hundred of his guards and hastened to Grodno.

1708, Feb. 6. A German officer, named Mulfels, who commanded a body of troops at one of the gates of the town, made no doubt, when he saw Charles, but that he was followed by his army; he therefore left the passage open to him, instead of disputing it. The alarm soon spread through the town; every one supposed the whole Swedish army already entered; the few Russians who attempted to resist, were cut in pieces by the Swedish guards; and all the officers assured the czar, that the victorious army was in possession of the place. Peter retreated beyond the ramparts, and Charles placed a guard of thirty men at the very gate through which the czar had passed out just before.

During this scene of confusion, some of the Jesuits whose college had been taken to accommodate the king of Sweden, as being the handsomest building in Grodno, went by night to the czar, and for this once at least told him the truth. Peter immediately returned into the town, and forced the Swedish guard. The two parties fought together in the streets and publick places, but at length the main body of the Swedish army arriving, the czar was obliged to yield to superior numbers, and to leave the town in the possession of the conqueror, who made all Poland tremble.

Charles had reinforced his troops in Livonia and Finland, and Peter had every thing to fear, not only for his conquests on this side, as well as for those in Lithuania, but also for his ancient territories, and even for Moscow. It was therefore necessary that he should at once provide for the safety of all these different places, at such a distance from each other. Charles could not make a very rapid progress to the eastward of Lithuania, in an inclement season, and in a marshy country infected with epidemical diseases, which had been spread by poverty and famine from Warsaw to Minsk. Peter posted his troops, so as to secure the passes of rivers, placed guards at every post of importance; did every thing he could to prevent the advances of the enemy, and then hastened to put every thing in order at Petersburg.

Charles,

Charles, though he was giving laws to the Poles, took nothing from Peter; but the latter, by the use he made of his new fleet, by landing his troops in Finland, by taking and destroying Borgau, and by getting possession of a considerable booty, was acquiring many useful advantages. May 21.

Charles, after having for a long time been detained in Lithuania by continual rains, at length reached the little river of Berizene, which is distant only a few leagues from the Boristhenes. Nothing could resist his activity; he threw a bridge over the river in sight of the Russians, routed the detachment that guarded the passage, and got to Holozin on the river Vabis*, where the czar had placed a considerable body of troops to check the impetuosity of his opponent. The little river of Vabis is only a small brook in dry weather, but at that time it was increased by the rains into a deep and rapid torrent. On the other side was a morass, beyond which the Russians had formed an entrenchment, a quarter of a league in length, defended by a deep ditch, and covered by a parapet furnished with artillery. Nine regiments of cavalry and eleven of infantry, were advantageously posted in these lines, so that the passage of the river seemed impracticable.

The Swedes, according to the custom of war, prepared their pontoons, and erected batteries to favour their passage; but Charles would not wait till the pontoons were ready; his impatience to engage, would never suffer him to endure the least delay. Marshal Schwerin†, who served a long time under him, has repeatedly assured me, that one day when they were coming to action, seeing his generals busied in concerting the necessary dispositions, he called out to them, "When will you have done with these trifles?" And immediately advanced at the head of his troops, which he did particularly on this memorable day.

* The Russians call it *Bibitch*. V.

† This brave officer was slain at the battle of Prague in 1757, at the age of eighty-four. T.

He threw himself into the river, followed by his regiment of guards. Their numbers lessened the impetuosity of the current, but the water was as high as their shoulders, and they could make no use of their arms. If the artillery of the parapet had been well served, and the Russian battalions had kept up a proper fire, not a single Swede would have escaped.

The king after crossing the river, passed the morass on foot, and as soon as his troops had surmounted these obstacles within sight of the Russians, he drew them up in order of battle. They attacked the entrenchments seven times, and the Russians kept their ground till the seventh attack, when they gave way. The Swedes, by the account of their own historians, took only twelve field-pieces, and twenty-four mortars.

It therefore appeared evident, that the czar had at length succeeded in disciplining his troops; and this victory of Holozin, while it covered Charles XII. with glory, might have convinced him of the many dangers he was about to encounter, by attempting to penetrate into such remote countries, where his troops could march only in separate bodies, from wood to wood, from morass to morass, and obliged to fight at every step; but the Swedes being accustomed to carry all before them, were equally fearless of danger and fatigue.

C H A P. XVII.

Charles XII. crosses the Boristhenes.—Penetrates into the Ukraine.—Concerts his Measures badly.—One of his Armies defeated by Peter the Great.—He loses his Supply of Ammunition.—Advances into Deserts.—His Adventures in the Ukraine.

1708. **C**HARLES arrived at length at a little town called Mohilow, or Mogilew, on the borders of the Boristhenes. At this place he was to determine, whether he should direct his course eastward towards

towards Moscow, or southward towards the Ukraine. His army, his enemies, his friends, all expected that he would march to the capital. Which ever road he took, Peter was following him from Smolensko with a numerous army; no one imagined, that he would turn towards the Ukraine. Mazeppa, hetman of the Cossacks, was the person who induced him to adopt this strange resolution. This Mazeppa was an old man of seventy, who having no children, ought to have thought only of ending his days in peace; gratitude should have bound him to the czar, to whom he owed his dignity of hetman; but whether he had really any reason to be dissatisfied with that prince, or that he was dazzled with Charles's reputation, or whether (as indeed seems most likely) he thought to render himself independent, he betrayed his benefactor, and privately devoted himself to the king of Sweden, flattering himself that his whole nation would join with him in a revolt.

Charles did not doubt of triumphing over the whole Russian empire, when his victorious troops should be joined by so warlike a people. Mazeppa engaged to supply him with provisions, and as much ammunition and artillery as he should want; to these powerful succours was to be added an army of sixteen or eighteen thousand men, who were on their march from Livonia, under the command of general Lewenhaupt; followed by a prodigious quantity of provisions and ammunition. Charles did not give himself the trouble of considering whether the czar was near enough to attack this army, and deprive him of those necessary succours. He never once enquired, whether Mazeppa was in a condition to fulfil all his engagements; whether that Cossack had sufficient weight to change the disposition of a whole nation, who are commonly guided only by their own opinion; or, in short, whether his army, in case of an accident, was provided with sufficient resources; but imagined, if Mazeppa should prove deficient either in fidelity or abilities, he could trust to his own courage and good fortune. The Swedish army therefore advanced beyond the Boristhenes towards the Desna, expecting to meet

meet with Mazeppa between those two rivers. The badness of the road, and the parties of Russians that were hovering about those parts, rendered the march extremely dangerous.

Menzikoff, at the head of a few regiments of dragoons, attacked the king's advanced guard, threw them into disorder, and killed a great number of them. He lost, indeed, a greater number of his own men, but this did not discourage him. Charles hastened to the field of battle, and with some difficulty repulsed the Russians, at the hazard of his own life, by engaging several dragoons who had surrounded him. All this while Mazeppa did not appear, and there began to be a scarcity of provisions. The Swedish soldiers seeing their king partake of all their dangers, their fatigues, and their want, were not discouraged; but while they admired his courage, they could not help blaming and murmuring at his conduct.

The orders the king had sent to Lewenhaupt to march forward with his army, and to bring with him the necessary supplies, had not been delivered to that general so soon by twelve days as they should have been. This was a considerable delay as circumstances then stood. Lewenhaupt, however, at length began his march. Peter suffered him to pass the Boristhenes; but as soon as the Swedish army was got between that river and the smaller ones that empty themselves into it, he crossed over after him, and attacked him with his united forces, which had followed him in detached parties. This battle was fought between the Boristhenes and the Sossa, or Soeza.

Prince Menzikoff returned with the same body of horse with which he had lately attacked Charles XII. General Baur followed him, and Peter himself conducted the flower of his army. The Swedes imagined they had to do with an army of forty thousand men; and this was for a long time believed, on the faith of their relation; but my papers inform me, that Peter had only twenty thousand men with him at that time; this number was not much superior to that of the enemy. The czar's activity,

activity, his patience, and unwearied perseverance, together with that of his troops, animated by his presence, these were the circumstances that decided the fate, not of that day only, but of three successive days, during which the fight was renewed at different times.

The Russians began by attacking the rear-guard of the Swedish army near the village of Lefnau, from whence this battle takes its name. This first shock was bloody, without being decisive. Lewenhaupt retreated into a wood, and saved his baggage. The next day, when the Swedes were to be driven from this wood, the engagement was more bloody, and the fortune of the day more in favour of the Russians. It was here that the czar, seeing his troops in disorder, cried out to fire upon the runaways, and even upon himself, if he should turn back. The Swedes were repulsed, but not totally routed.

At length the czar's army receiving a reinforcement of four thousand dragoons, he fell upon the Swedes a third time; they retreated towards a town called Prospock, where they were again attacked; they then marched towards the Desna, and the Russians pursued them. They were indeed never entirely broken, but they lost upwards of eight thousand men, seventeen pieces of cannon, and forty-four colours: the czar took fifty-six officers, and near nine hundred private men prisoners; and the great convoy of ammunition and provisions that was intended for Charles's army, remained in the possession of the conqueror.

This was the first time, that the czar in person gained a pitched battle against those who had signalized themselves by so many victories over his troops: he was employed in a general thanksgiving for his success, when advice was brought to him, that his general Apraxin had lately gained an advantage over the enemy in Ingria, within a few leagues of Narva; an advantage less considerable, it is true, than that of Lefnau; but this concurrence of fortunate events, strengthened the hopes and the courage of his army.

Charles XII. heard of all these unfortunate tidings; just as he was preparing to cross the Desna in the Ukraine. Mazeppa at length joined him, but, instead of his promised succours of twenty thousand men, and an immense quantity of provisions, he brought with him only two regiments; and appeared rather like a fugitive applying for assistance, than a prince coming to support an ally. This Cossack had indeed begun his march with fifteen or sixteen thousand of his people, whom he had told at their first setting out, that they were going against the king of Sweden; that they would have the glory of stopping that hero on his march, and that the czar would consider himself eternally obliged to them for so important a service.

When were they arrived within a few leagues of Desna, he informed them of his real design; but those brave people received his declaration with disdain, and refused to betray a monarch, against whom they had no cause of complaint, for the sake of a Swede, who was invading their country with an armed force; and who, after quitting it, would be no longer able to defend them, but must leave them to the mercy of the incensed Russians, and of the Poles, formerly their masters, and always their enemies: they returned home therefore, and gave advice to the czar of the defection of their chief; so that there remained with Mazeppa only about two regiments, the officers of which were in his pay.

The hetman was still master of some strong posts in the Ukraine, and particularly of Bathurin, the place of his residence, and considered as the capital of the Cossacks; it is situated near some forests on the Desna, but very remote from the place where Peter had defeated Lewenhaupt. There were always some Russians regiments in those parts. Prince Menzikoff was detached from the czar's army, and got thither by round-about marches. Charles could not secure all the passes; he was not even acquainted with them, and had neglected to make himself master of the important post of Starodoub, which leads directly to Bathurin, across seven or eight leagues of forest, through which the Desna directs

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its course. His enemy had always the advantage of him, by knowing the country. Menzikoff easily made his passage good, along with prince Galitzin, and presented himself before Bathurin, which was taken almost without resistance, and afterwards plundered and burnt to ashes. A large magazine intended for the king of Sweden, and all Mazeppa's treasures fell into the hands of the Russians. The Cossacks elected another hetman, named Skoropasky, who was approved by the czar; this prince being willing to imprest a due sense of the enormous crime of treason on the minds of the people, the archbishop of Kiow, and two others, were ordered to excommunicate Mazeppa publicly; after which he was hanged in effigy, and some of his accomplices were put to death upon the wheel.

In the mean time Charles XII. at the head of about twenty-five or twenty-seven thousand Swedes, who were reinforced by the remains of Lewenhaupt's army, and the two or three thousand Cossacks who had accompanied Mazeppa, being still seduced by the hopes of making all the Ukraine declare for him, passed the Desna at a considerable distance from Bathurin, and near the Boristhenes, in spite of the czar's troops, which Nov. 25. surrounded him on all sides; part of them following his rear-guard, while the rest spread themselves on the opposite side of the river to oppose his passage.

He continued his route through a desert country, which afforded nothing but burnt or ruined villages. The cold began to set in with so much severity at the beginning of December, that in one of his marches, near two thousand of his men fell dead before his eyes; the czar's troops suffered less, because they were better supplied; whereas Charles's army being almost naked, were of course more exposed to the inclemency of the season.

In this deplorable situation, count Piper, chancellor of Sweden, who never gave his master other than good advice, intreated him to stop, and pass at least the severest part of the winter in a little town of the Ukraine, named Romna, where he might intrench himself, and procure some provisions by means of Mazeppa; Charles answered

answered him, that he was not made to shut himself up in a town. Piper then conjured him to repass the Desna and Boristhenes, to return back into Poland, to put his troops into winter-quarters, of which they stood so much in need; to reinforce himself with the Polish light-horse, which was absolutely necessary; to support the king he had nominated, and to keep in awe the partizans of Augustus, who were already beginning to bestir themselves. Charles replied, that this would be flying before the czar; that the weather would soon grow milder, and that he must reduce the Ukraine and march to Moscow*.

The Russian and Swedish armies remained some weeks inactive, on account of the intenseness of the cold in January 1709; but as soon as the men were able to make use of their arms, Charles attacked all the small posts that he found in his way; he was obliged to send parties on every side in search of provisions; that is to say, to scour the country twenty leagues round, and deprive the peasants of their necessary subsistence. Peter contented himself with watching the motions of his rival, and suffered the Swedish army to dwindle away by degrees.

It is hardly possible for the reader to follow the Swedes in their march through these countries; several of the rivers which they crossed, are not to be found in the maps; we must not imagine that our geographers are as well acquainted with those countries as they are with Italy, France, and Germany; of all the arts, geography is that which stands the most in need of improvement; and ambition has hitherto taken more pains to desolate, than to describe the face of the globe.

We must therefore content ourselves with knowing, that Charles traversed the whole Ukraine in the month of February, burning the villages wherever he came, or meeting with others that had been burnt by the Russians. Advancing to the south-east, he at length came to those sandy deserts, bordered by mountains, that separate the Nogay Tartars from the Don Cossacks. It is to the

* This is acknowledged by the chaplain Norberg. Vol. II. p. 263. V.

eastward of those mountains that the altars of Alexander are situated. He was now on the other side of the Ukraine, in the road that the Tartars take to Russia; and when he had reached thus far, he was obliged to return back to procure subsistence. The inhabitants had retired into their dens with their cattle, and would sometimes defend their provisions against the soldiers who came to rob them of it. Such of the peasants as could be found, were put to death; this we are told is agreeable to the rules of war. I shall here transcribe a few lines from the chaplain Norberg *. "As a proof, says he, of the king's regard to justice, we shall insert a note which he wrote with his own hand to colonel Hielmen.

"Colonel,

"I am very glad to find that you have taken the peasants who carried off a Swedish soldier; when they have been convicted of their crime, let them be punished according to the exigency of the case, by putting them to death.

"CHARLES, and lower down, BUDIS."

Such are the sentiments of justice and humanity shewn by a king's chaplain; but if the peasants of the Ukraine, had had it in their power to have hanged up some of those regimented peasants of Ostrogotha, who thought they had a right to come so far to plunder them, their wives, and their children of their subsistence, would not the confessors and chaplains of these Ukrainers have had equal reason to applaud their justice?

Mazeppa had for some time been negotiating with the Zaporavians, who dwell about the two shores of the Boristhenes, and of whom a part take up their abode in the islands of that river. It is this division that forms the nation spoken of in a former part of our work †, and who have neither wives nor families, living entirely by

* This is acknowledged by the chaplain Norberg, Vol. II. p. 279.

† See Chap. I.

rapine, heaping up provisions in these islands during the winter, and selling them in the summer in the little town of Pultowa. The rest dwell in villages to the right and left of this river. These people elect a hetman, who is subordinate to the hetman of the Ukraine. The person who was then at the head of the Zaporavians, came to meet Mazeppa; and these two barbarians had an interview, at which each of them had an horse's tail, and a club carried before him.

That the reader may form a proper idea of this hetman of the Zaporavians and his people, I think it not unworthy of history, to relate the manner in which the treaty was concluded. Mazeppa gave a grand feast to the Zaporavian hetman and his principal officers. Some of the dishes were served up in plate. These chiefs began with drinking brandy till they intoxicated themselves, and then, without stirring from table, took an oath upon the Evangelists, to supply Charles XII. with men and provisions; after which they carried off all the plate and other furniture. The steward ran after them, and remonstrated, that such behaviour ill agreed with the gospel on which they had just before been swearing; Mazeppa's servants wanted to take away the plate by force; the Zaporavians collected together, and went in a body to complain to Mazeppa of the unheard of affront offered to such brave fellows, and insisted on having the steward delivered up to them, that he might be punished according to law. Their demand was accordingly complied with, and the Zaporavians, according to law, threw this poor man from one to another like a ball, after which they plunged a knife into his heart.

Such were the new allies that Charles XII. found himself obliged to receive; he formed part of them into a regiment of two thousand men, and the remainder marched in separate bodies against the czar's Cossacks and Calmuks that were stationed in those districts.

The little town of Pultowa with which these Zaporavians trade, was at that time filled with provisions, and might have served the king of Sweden as a place
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of arms. It is situated on the river Worklaw, pretty near a chain of mountains, which command it towards the north; on the eastern side is a vast desert; the western part is more fertile and better peopled. The Worklaw empties itself into the Boristhenes about fifteen leagues below this place. From Pultowa one may go northward through the defiles frequented by the Tartars, and which communicate with the road to Moscow. This route is a very difficult one, and the precautions taken by the czar had rendered it almost impracticable; but to Charles XII. nothing seemed impossible, and he, depending upon marching to Moscow after making himself master of Pultowa, therefore laid siege to this place in the beginning of May.

C H A P. XVIII.

Battle of Pultowa.

IT was at this spot that Peter expected him; he had disposed the different divisions of his army ^{1709.} at convenient distances for joining together, and marching in a body against the besiegers. He had visited all the countries which surround the Ukraine, namely, the duchy of Severia, watered by the Desna, a river rendered famous by his victory, and which is there of a considerable depth; the country of Bolcho, in which the ocean takes its rise; the deserts and mountains leading to the Palus Mœotis; and lastly Asoph, the harbour of which place he had caused to be cleaned, new ships to be built, and the citadel of Taganroc to be fortified; so that he had employed the time that had passed between the battles of Desna and Pultowa, in preparing for the security of his dominions.

The moment he received advice that Pultowa was besieged, he assembled all his forces. His light horse, dragoons, infantry Cossacks and Calmucks, advanced from twenty different quarters. His army was in no want of

necessaries of any kind, being well supplied with large cannon, field-pieces, ammunition of all sorts, provisions, and even medicines for the sick; this was another degree of which he had acquired over his rival.

On the 15th of June 1709, he appeared before Pultowa with an army of about sixty thousand men; the river Worslaw was between him and Charles; the besiegers were to the north-west, and the Russians on the south-east side of that river.

July Peter having ascended the river above the town, fixed his bridges, marched over with his troops, and threw up a long entrenchment, which was begun and completed in a single night, in front of the enemy's army. Charles might then judge, whether the person whom he affected to despise, and whom he thought of dethroning at Moscow, understood the art of war. This disposition being made, Peter posted his horse between two woods, and covered it with several redoubts lined with artillery. When he had thus taken all his measures, he went to reconnoitre the besieger's camp, in order to form the attack.

July This battle was to determine the fate of Russia, Poland and Sweden, and two monarchs, on whom the eyes of all Europe were fixed. Although so many nations were attentive to these important concerns, yet the greater part of them knew neither the place where these two princes were, or how their affairs were circumstanced: but having seen Charles XII. set out from Saxony, at the head of a victorious army, and having heard that he was driving his enemy every where before him, they no longer doubted that he would at length entirely crush him, and that as he had given laws to Denmark, Poland and Germany, he would now dictate conditions of peace in Moscow, and make a new czar, after having already made a king of Poland. I have seen letters that were written by several ministers, confirming their respective courts in this general opinion.

The risk between these two rivals was far from being equal. If Charles lost a life which he had so often exposed,

posed, there would after all have been but one hero less in the world. The provinces of the Ukraine, the frontiers of Lithuania and Russia would then be no longer exposed to devastation; Poland at the same time that she resumed her tranquillity, would recover her lawful sovereign, who had been lately reconciled to the czar his benefactor; and lastly, Sweden, though exhausted of men and money, might find motives of consolation. But if the czar perished, those immense labours which had been so useful to mankind, would be buried with him, and the most extensive empire upon earth would again relapse into the chaos from whence he had so lately taken it.

There had already been several slight skirmishes, between detached parties of the Swedes and Russians under the walls of the town. Charles XII. in one of these rencounters, had been wounded by a musket-ball, which had shattered the bones of his foot; he was obliged to undergo several painful operations, which he bore with his usual fortitude, and had been confined for several days to his bed. He was in this July 27. condition when news was brought to him, that Peter intended to attack him; his ideas of glory, would not suffer him to wait for him in his entrenchments; he therefore gave orders for quitting them, and was carried himself in a litter. It is acknowledged in the Journal of Peter the Great, that the Swedes attacked the redoubts lined with artillery that covered his cavalry, with such a degree of obstinate valour, that notwithstanding his resistance, and, in spite of a continual fire, they made themselves masters of two redoubts. It has been asserted, by some writers that when the Swedish infantry found themselves in possession of the two redoubts, they looked upon the battle as gained, and cried out victory. The chaplain Norberg, who was at a distance from the field of battle amongst the baggage (which indeed was his proper place) pretends, that this was a calumny; but whether the Swedes cried out victory or not, it is certain they did not obtain it. The fire from the other redoubts did not slacken in the

least, and the firmness with which the Russians resisted in every part, was equal to the vigorous attack of their enemies. They did not make one irregular movement; the czar drew up his troops without the entrenchments with great quickness, and in excellent order.

The battle soon became general, Peter acted as major-general; general Baur commanded the right wing, Menzikoff the left, and Sheremeto the centre. The action lasted two hours. Charles, with a pistol in his hand went from rank to rank, carried in a litter, on the shoulders of his guards, one of whom was killed by a cannon-ball, that likewise shattered the litter in pieces. The king then ordered his men to carry him upon their pikes; for it would have been difficult, whatever Norberg may say, to have found in so smart an action a litter ready made. Peter received several shot in his cloaths, and his hat; both princes were continually in the midst of the fire, during the whole action. At length, after being two hours closely engaged, the Swedes beginning every where to give way, fell into confusion, and Charles XII. was obliged to fly before him, whom he had hitherto held in so much contempt. This very hero, who could not mount his saddle during the battle, was now placed on horseback; necessity seemed to have restored a little of his strength: in his flight he suffered the most excruciating pain, which was increased by the mortifying reflection of being vanquished without resource. The Russians reckoned nine thousand two hundred and twenty-four of the enemy left dead on the field of battle, and between two and three thousand taken prisoners in the action, the greater part of whom were cavalry.

Charles XII. fled with the greatest precipitation, accompanied only by about fourteen thousand men, a few field-pieces, and a small quantity of provisions and ammunition. He directed his course southward towards the Boristhenes, between the rivers Warfklaw, and Sol, or Psol, in the country of the Zaporavians. Beyond the Boristhenes are vast deserts which extend to the

the frontiers of Turkey. Norberg asserts, that the Russians did not dare to pursue Charles; and yet he acknowledges, that prince Menzikoff appeared on the neighbouring heights, with ten thousand horse, and a considerable train of artillery, while the July 12. king was passing the Boristhenes.

Fourteen thousand Swedes surrendered themselves prisoners of war to these ten thousand Russians: Lewenhaupt, who commanded them, signed the fatal capitulation, by which he gave up to the czar the Zaporavians, who having engaged in the service of Sweden, were then in the fugitive army. The principal persons taken prisoners in the battle, and by the capitulation, were count Piper, the first minister, with two secretaries of state and two of the cabinet, field marshal Renschild, the generals Lewenhaupt, Slippenbach, Rozen, Stakelber, Creutz, and Hamilton; three general aides-de-camp; the auditor-general of the army; fifty-nine staff officers; five colonels, among whom was the prince of Wirtemberg; and sixteen thousand nine hundred and forty-two private men, and non-commissioned officers; in short, including the king's own servants, and the rest of the persons who followed the army, the number of prisoners in the power of the conqueror, was not less than eighteen thousand seven hundred and forty-six; to whom if we add the nine thousand two hundred and twenty-four who were slain in the battle, and near two thousand men that passed the Boristhenes with the king of Sweden, it will appear, that he had no less than twenty-seven thousand effective men under his command on that memorable day*.

He had set out from Saxony with five and forty thousand men; Lewenhaupt had brought upwards of sixteen thousand men out of Livonia; of all this power-

* A work made its appearance at Amsterdam in 1739, entitled *Memoirs of Peter the Great*, written by the pretended boyard Ivan Nesteruzanoy. We are told in those Memoirs, that the king of Sweden before he passed the Boristhenes, sent a general officer to the czar, with proposals of peace. The four volumes of that work, are a collection of untruths and absurdities, or a compilation from Gazettes. V.

ful army, scarce an handful of men were left; and of a numerous train of artillery, part of which had been lost in his marches, and part buried in the morasses, he had preserved only eighteen brass cannon, two haubitizers, and twelve mortars. With these feeble arms he had undertaken the siege of Pultowa, and attacked an army provided with a formidable artillery. He is therefore accused of having displayed more valour than prudence, after his departure from Germany. On the side of the Russians, there fell only fifty-two officers, and twelve hundred and ninety-three private men; a proof, that the disposition of their troops was better than that of Charles's, and their fire infinitely superior to his.

A foreign envoy at the court of Russia pretends, in his Memoirs, that Peter having been informed of Charles's design to take refuge amongst the Turks, wrote to intreat him not to take so desperate a resolution; but rather to trust himself in his hands, rather than in those of the natural enemies of all Christian princes. At the same time, he gave him his word of honour, not to detain him prisoner, but to terminate all their differences by a reasonable peace. This letter was carried by an express as far as the river Bug, which separates the deserts of the Ukraine from the Turkish dominions. As the messenger did not reach that place till Charles had entered Turkey, he brought back the letter to his master. The same minister adds *, that he was told this fact by the very person who was charged with the letter. This anecdote is not without some degree of probability, but I do not find it either in the journal of Peter the Great, or in any of the papers that have been entrusted to my care. What is of greater importance in regard to this battle is, that of all those which have stained the earth with blood, it is the only one, that instead of producing only destruction, has proved beneficial to mankind, by en-

* This fact is likewise to be met with in a letter printed before the Anecdotes of Russia. V.

abling the czar to civilize a considerable part of the world.

There have been upwards of two hundred pitched battles fought in Europe, from the beginning of the present century, to the year in which I am writing. The most signal and the most bloody victories, have produced no other consequences, than the reduction of a few provinces, ceded afterwards by treaties, and retaken again by other battles. Armies of an hundred thousand men have frequently engaged each other in the field; but the most violent efforts, have been attended only with trivial and momentary successes; the great means employed, have been productive of the most trifling effects. There is no instance amongst our modern nations, of any war that has compensated by even a little good, the evils it had occasioned; whereas the result of the battle of Pultowa, has been the happiness and prosperity of the greatest empire upon earth.

C H A P. XIX.

Consequences of the Battle of Pultowa.—Charles XII. takes Refuge in Turkey.—Augustus, whom he had dethroned, is restored to his Dominions.—Conquests of Peter the Great.

AFTER the battle, the chief prisoners of rank were presented to the conqueror, who 1709. ordered their swords to be returned, and invited them to his table. It is well known, that on drinking to them the czar said, "I drink to the health of my masters in the art of war." The greater part of his masters, however, at least all the subaltern officers and private men, were afterwards sent into Siberia. There was no cartel established between the Russians and Swedes; the czar, indeed, had proposed one before the siege of Pultowa, but Charles had rejected the offer, and the Swedes were in every thing the victims of his inflexible pride.

It

It was this unseasonable pride, that proved the source of all the misfortunes of that prince in Turkey; and of a series of adventures more becoming a hero of the Ariosto, than a wise or prudent king: for as soon as he arrived near Bender, he was advised to visit the grand vizir, according to the custom of the country; but this he thought would be demeaning himself too far. A similar obstinacy embroiled him successively with all the ministers of the Porte: in fact, he knew not how to accommodate himself either to times or circumstances*.

At the first news of the battle of Pultowa, a general revolution in minds and affairs, took place in Poland, Sweden, Saxony, and Silesia. Charles, while he was giving laws to those countries, had obliged the emperor of Germany, Joseph, to take an hundred and five churches from the catholicks, in favour of the Silesians of the confession of Augsburg; but the catholicks repossessed themselves of all the Lutheran temples, the moment they received news of Charles's defeat. The Saxons now thought of nothing, but revenging themselves for the extortions of a conqueror, who had cost them, they said, twenty-three millions of crowns. The king of Poland, their elector, immediately protested against the abdication that had been extorted from him; and being restored to the Aug. 8. czar's good graces, was eager to re-ascend the throne of Poland. Sweden, in a state of consternation, for a long time thought her king dead; and in this uncertainty, the senate knew not what measures to take.

Peter without loss of time, resolved to make the best use of his victory; for this purpose, he sent marshal Sheremeto with an army into Livonia, on the frontiers of which that general had so often signalized himself.

* La Motraye, in the account he published of his travels, quotes a letter from Charles XII. to the grand vizir; but that letter, like most of the relations of that mercenary writer, is false; and Norberg himself acknowledges, that the king of Sweden would never write to the grand vizir. V.

Prince

Prince Menzikoff was dispatched in haste with a numerous body of horse, to second the few troops that were left in Poland, to encourage the nobility who sided with Augustus, to drive out his competitor, who was now considered only as a rebel; and to disperse a few Swedish troops that were still left in that kingdom, under the command of general Crassau.

Peter himself set out soon after and passed through Kiow, the palatinates of Chelm and Upper Volhinia, to Lublin, where he concerted measures with the general of Lithuania. He there reviewed the troops belonging to the crown, all of whom ^{Sept. 19.} took an oath of allegiance to king Augustus; from thence he proceeded to Warsaw, and at Thorn enjoyed the most flattering of all triumphs, that of receiving the thanks of a king, whom he reinstated in his dominions. It was there that he concluded ^{Oct. 7.} a treaty against Sweden, with the kings of Denmark, Poland, and Prussia. The views of these monarchs, were to recover from Charles all the conquests of Gustavus Adolphus. Peter revived the ancient pretensions of the czars to Livonia, Ingria, Carelia, and part of Finland; Denmark laid claim to Scandia, and the king of Prussia to Pomerania.

Thus did Charles XII. by his unfortunate valour, shake all the edifices that the successful bravery of Gustavus Adolphus had erected. The Polish nobility came in on all sides, to renew their oaths to their sovereign, and to ask pardon for having deserted him; almost all of them acknowledged Peter for their protector.

To the victorious arms of the czar, to these treaties, and to this sudden revolution, Stanislaus had nothing to oppose but his resignation; he distributed a writing called *Universale*, in which he says, that he is ready to resign the crown, if the republick requires it.

Peter, after having concerted every thing with the king of Poland, and ratified the treaty with Denmark, immediately set out to finish his negotiation with the king of Prussia. At that time, it was not usual for sovereigns to go themselves and perform the functions of

of their ambassadors; it was Peter who introduced this new custom, which has not been often followed. The elector of Brandenburg, the first king of Prussia, had a conference with the czar at Marienwerder, a small town situated in the western part of Pomerania, built by the Teutonic knights, and included in the limits of Prussia, lately erected into a kingdom. This kingdom, indeed, was small and poor; but its new king, whenever he travelled, displayed the utmost degree of pomp. He had already entertained Peter with great magnificence, when that prince quitted his empire to go into foreign countries for instruction. But he received the conqueror of Charles XII. in a still more
Oa. 20. splendid manner. Peter concluded only a defensive treaty with the king of Prussia, which afterwards, however, completed the ruin of Sweden.

No time was lost. Peter after having proceeded with the greatest dispatch in negotiations, which every where else are usually so tedious, went and joined his army before Riga, the capital of Livonia; he began by bombarding the place, and fired off the
Nov. 21. three first bombs himself; after which he blockaded it, and being well assured that the town could not escape him, repaired to his city of Peterburgh, to inspect the works carrying on there, and to
Dec. 3. forward the new buildings, and the finishing of his fleet. He laid the keel of a fifty-four gun ship with his own hands, and then set out for Moscow, where he amused himself with assisting in the preparations for the triumphal entry which he intended to exhibit in that capital: he contrived and directed every thing relating to that festival, and, as usual, worked at it himself.

The year 1710, was opened with this solemnity, so necessary at that time to his subjects,
1710, Jan. 1. whom it inspired with sentiments of grandeur, and so pleasing to those who had been fearful of seeing those enter their walls as conquerors, over whom they now triumphed. Seven magnificent arches were erected, under which passed the artillery taken from the Swedes,

Swedes, their colours, their standards, the litter that had been used by Charles XII. with their soldiers, officers, generals, and ministers, who had been made prisoners, all on foot, amidst the ringing of bells, the sound of trumpets, the discharge of an hundred pieces of cannon, and the acclamations of an innumerable concourse of people, whose voices rent the air as soon as the cannon ceased firing. The procession was closed by the conquerors on horseback, headed by the generals; Peter appeared in his rank of major-general. At each triumphal arch, were stationed the deputies of the several orders of the state; and at the last was a chosen band of young noblemen, the sons of boyards, in Roman habits, who presented a crown of laurel to their victorious monarch.

To this publick festival, succeeded a ceremony no less satisfactory than the former. In 1708 an accident had happened, which was the more disagreeable to Peter, as his arms were at that time unsuccessful. Mateof, his ambassador to the court of London, having his audience of leave of queen Anne, was arrested for debt by two sheriff's officers, at the suit of some English tradesmen, and obliged to give security for the debt. The tradesmen contended, that the laws of commerce ought to prevail over the privileges of ambassadors; the czar's ambassador, and all the other foreign ministers, protested against this proceeding; alledging, that their persons ought to be always inviolable. — The czar, in his letters to queen Anne, demanded satisfaction for this insult; but the queen had it not in her power to gratify him, because, by the laws of England, tradesmen were allowed to prosecute their debtors, and there was no law that exempted publick ministers from such persecution. The murder of Patkul, the czar's ambassador, who had been executed the year before by the order of the king of Sweden, had encouraged the English to shew so little regard to a character, that had been so cruelly prophaned. The other foreign ministers who were at that time in London, were obliged to be bound for the czar's ambassador; and all that the queen could

could do in his favour, was to prevail on her parliament to pass an act, by which it was enacted, that in future, no one could arrest an ambassador for debt: but after the battle of Pultowa, the czar required a more ample satisfaction; and queen Anne made an excuse for what had passed, by a solemn embassy. Mr. afterwards lord Whitworth, who was charged with Feb. 16. this commission, began his harangue with these words, "Most high and mighty emperor." He informed him, that the persons who had presumed to arrest his ambassador, had been imprisoned and rendered infamous; there was not a syllable of truth in all this, but it was sufficient that he said so; and the title of emperor, which the queen had not given him before the battle of Pultowa, sufficiently shewed the weight he had acquired in Europe. This title had been already granted him in Holland; and not only those who had worked with him in the dock-yards at Sardam, and who seemed to interest themselves most in his glory, but likewise all the principal persons of the republick unanimously stiled him emperor; and celebrated his victory by publick rejoicings, even in the presence of the Swedish minister.

The universal reputation which he had acquired by his victory, was still further increased, by his not losing a moment in reaping every possible advantage from it. He began with laying siege to Elbing, a Hanse-town of Regal Prussia in Poland, in which the Swedes had still a garrison. The Russians scaled the walls, entered

the town, and the garrison surrendered prisoners of war. This place was one of the most March 11. considerable magazines belonging to Charles

XII. The Russians found in it an hundred and eighty-three brass cannon, and an hundred and fifty-seven mortars. Immediately after this Peter hastened from Moscow to Petersburg, where he took shipping under his new fortress of Cronstot, sailed along the coast April 2. of Carelia, and notwithstanding a violent storm, brought his fleet before Wibourg, the capital of Carelia in Finland, while his land forces advanced

over

over the frozen morasses, so that in a short time the place was closely blockaded. A breach being made in the walls, the town surrendered; and the garrison, consisting of about four thousand men, capitulated, but without being able to obtain the honours of war, being made prisoners notwithstanding the capitulation. Peter complained of several infractions of this kind on the part of the Swedes, and promised to set these troops at liberty, as soon as he should receive satisfaction from their countrymen. On this occasion it was necessary to consult the king of Sweden, and that prince continued as inflexible as ever; so that these soldiers, whom, by a little concession he might have delivered from their confinement, remained in captivity. In a similar manner did William III. king of England and prince of Orange, arrest marshal Boufflers, notwithstanding the capitulation of Namur. There are several instances of such violations, but it is to be wished there never had been any.

After the taking of Wibourg, the blockade of Riga was soon changed into a regular siege, and carried on with vigour. The Russians were obliged to break the ice on the river Dwina, which waters the walls of the city. A contagious disorder, which had raged for some time in those climates, attacked the army of the besiegers, and carried off nine thousand of their men: nevertheless, the siege was not in the least slackened; it was somewhat tedious, but the garrison at length capitulated, and obtained the honours of war: but it was stipulated in the capitulation, that all the Livonian officers and soldiers, should enter into the czar's service, as natives of a country that had been dismembered from Russia, and usurped by the ancestors of Charles XII. but the privileges of which the Livonians had been deprived by the father of that prince, were restored to them. This was the most noble satisfaction that the czar could take, for the murder of Patkul his ambassador, who was a native of Livonia, and had been put to death for defending these very privileges. The garrison consisted of about five thousand men. The citadel of Pennamunde was taken soon

soon afterwards, and the Russians found in the towns and fort, upwards of eight hundred pieces of artillery.

In order to make the czar entirely master of the province of Carelia, nothing was now wanting, but the possession of the strong town of Kexksolm. This place was situated on an island in the lake of Ladoga, and deemed impregnable. It was bombarded soon afterwards, and was not long before it surrendered.

Sept. 19, 23. The island of Oesel in the sea bordering upon the north of Livonia, was subdued with the same rapidity.

On the side of Esthonia, a province of Livonia, towards the north, and on the gulph of Finland, are the towns of Pernau and Revel; by reducing these two places the czar completed the conquest of Livonia. Pernau surrendered, after a siege of a few days, and Revel capitulated without having a single cannon fired against it; but the besieged found means to escape out of the hands of the conqueror, at the very time that they were surrendering themselves prisoners of war; for some Swedish ships having anchored in the road during the night-time, the garrison and most of the inhabitants embarked on board, so that when the besiegers entered the town they were astonished to find it deserted. When Charles XII. gained the victory of Narva, little did he imagine that his troops would one day stand in need of artifices of this kind.

Stanislaus finding the party destroyed, and entirely ruined, that had espoused his interests in Poland, had taken refuge in Pomerania, which still belonged to Charles XII. Augustus now resumed the government, and it was difficult to determine, whether Charles had more glory in dethroning him, than Peter in restoring him to his crown.

The subjects of the king of Sweden were still more unfortunate than their sovereign. The epidemical disorder which had proved so fatal in Livonia, passed from thence into Sweden, and in the single town of Stockholm carried off thirty thousand persons; it likewise spread through the provinces already thinned of their inhabitants;

habitants; for during the space of ten years successively, the greater number of them had quitted their country to follow their master, and perished at a distance from home.

The king of Sweden's ill fortune pursued him also in Pomerania. His army had retired thither from Poland, to the number of eleven thousand men; the czar, the kings of Denmark and Prussia, the elector of Hano-ver, and the duke of Holstein, united to render this army useless, and to oblige general Craßau, who commanded it, to submit to a neutrality. The regency of Stockholm receiving no news of their king, and alarmed by the contagious distemper that made such havock in that city, were glad to sign this neutrality, which seemed to deliver one of their provinces at least from the horrors of war. The emperor of Germany favoured this singular treaty, by which it was stipulated, that the Swedish army then in Pomerania should not march from thence to assist their monarch in any other part of the world: it was even resolved in the German empire, to raise an army to enforce the execution of this unparalleled convention; the reason of this was, that the emperor, who was at that time at war with France, was in hopes that the Swedish army would enter into his service. The whole of this negotiation was transacted while Peter was making himself master of Livonia, Esthonia, and Carelia.

Charles XII. who was all this time at Bender, putting every spring in motion to induce the divan to declare war against the czar, received this news, as one of the severest strokes of his ill fortune. He was highly incensed against his senate, for presuming to tie up the hands of his army; and it was upon this occasion that he wrote them word, he would send one of his boots to govern them.

In the mean time, the Danes were making preparations to invade Sweden. All the nations in Europe were now engaged in war. Spain, Portugal, Italy, France, Germany, Holland, and England, were contending for the

dominions left by Charles II. king of Spain, and the whole north was up in arms against Charles XII. There was wanting only a quarrel with the Turks, for every village in Europe to be exposed to the horrors of war. Such a quarrel happened soon afterwards, when Peter was at the summit of his glory, and precisely for that very reason.

T H E E N D.

HISTORY
OF THE
EMPIRE of RUSSIA
UNDER
PETER THE GREAT.
PART II.

[illegible]

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

P R E F A C E

TO THE

S E C O N D P A R T

OF THE

HISTORY OF THE EMPIRE OF RUSSIA
UNDER PETER THE GREAT,

THE Empire of Russia has, in our time, acquired so much weight in Europe, that the history of Peter, its real founder, is rendered still more interesting. It was he who gave a new face to the North; and since his time, his Nation has been at the point of deciding the fate of Germany; and notwithstanding the immense distances of places, its influence has extended itself over France and Spain. The establishment of this Empire is perhaps the most important epocha to Europe, next to the discovery of the new world. It is purely on this account that the author of the First Part of the History of Peter the Great is induced to publish the Second.

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There

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There are some faults in the first volume, of which it is proper the Reader should be apprized *.

It is likewise right to inform superficial critics, that Volhinia, Podolia, and some other neighbouring countries have by all Geographers been stiled Red Russia.

We may leave the epithet of *small* to the country of Orenbourg, because this government is in fact small in comparison of Siberia, on which it borders; but we may substitute a bear-skin in lieu of the sheep-skin which several travellers pretend is worshipped by the Ostiaks. If these good folks pay their worship to what is most useful to them, the fur of a bear is still a more adorable object than a sheep-skin; and no man who has not an ass's skin would insist on such trifles.

Whether the vessels built by the Czar Peter I. were or were not called Half-galleys; whether Peter lived at first in a wooden house or a brick house; such things are in my opinion matters of indifference.

There are some things less unworthy the attention of a judicious Reader. It is said, for instance, in the first volume, that the natives of Kamschatka have no religion. I find from some recent memoirs on this subject, that these rude people have also their divines, who make the inhabitants of this peninsula to be originated from a kind of superior being, whom they name Kouthou. These memoirs add,

* We here omit the author's corrections, because we have been careful to insert them in their proper places. T.

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that they pay no kind of worship to him, and that they neither love nor fear him.

Thus they have a mythology, but no religion. This may be true, though it is hardly probable; fear being a natural quality in man. We are told, that, amidst their absurdities, they have a distinction of things permitted, and things prohibited: the former is to gratify every passion; among things prohibited, is the whetting a knife, or sharpening a hatchet, when on a journey, and to save a man who is drowning. If they really consider the saving a neighbour's life as a crime, they herein differ from all other men, who instinctively run to succour their fellow-creatures, unless this natural inclination be suppressed by interest or passion: certainly an action so common and so necessary as not to be any thing of a virtue, could never be deemed a crime, but through a philosophy equally false and superstitious, by which they were taught to believe, that Providence is not to be withstood; and that a man destined by Heaven to be drowned, ought not to be saved by another person; but Barbarians are very far from having a false philosophy.

They are said, however, to have one solemn festival, which receives its name from a word in their language signifying Purification. But, from what should they purify themselves, if every thing be permitted to them? and what need have they of any purification, if they neither fear nor love their God Kouthou?

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There are, without doubt, inconsistencies in their ideas, which is the case of those of most nations: theirs are owing to a want of genius, and ours to an abuse of it; we have a great many more than they, because we have reasoned much more.

As they have a kind of god, so they have likewise their demons; and even forcerers are to be found among them, as there have also been among even the most polished nations. The witches in Kamschatka are old women, as they were among us, till sound philosophy taught us better. Thus in every part of the world it is natural to the human mind to be infested with absurd notions, founded on our curiosity and weakness. The Kamschatkans have also their prophets, who interpret dreams; and we ourselves have not been long without them.

When the Court of Russia reduced these people by erecting five fortresses in their country, the Greek religion was promulgated among them. A Russian gentleman, whose information I could depend on, assured me, that one of their principal objections was, that this worship could not be made for them, since bread and wine are necessary in the celebration of our mysteries, and neither bread or wine are to be procured in their country.

In other respects, these people afford little matter of observation; and I shall make only one, which is, that if we throw our eyes over three-fourths of America, the southern part of Africa, and the north from Lapland to the sea of Japan, we shall be convinced that half mankind are not at all superior to the people of Kamschatka.

It

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It seems right to take notice, that the celebrated Geographer De l'Isle calls this country *Kamshat*. It is usual for us to omit the *Ka* and the *Koy*, which so often terminate Russian names; and the Italians do the like.

There is an article of greater importance which may affect the honour of Crowns. Olearius, who in 1634 was accompanied by the Holstein Envoys to Russia and Persia, relates in the third book of his history, that the Czar Ivan Basilowitz had banished an Ambassador of the Emperor into Siberia. This is a fact of which no other Historian, to my knowledge, has made the least mention; and it is not probable that the Emperor would have overlooked a violation of the law of nations so very extraordinary and shocking.

The same Olearius, in another place, says, “ We set out on the 13th of February, 1634, in company with a certain Ambassador from France, named Charles de Tallerand, Prince of Chalais, &c. Louis had sent him and James Roussel on an embassy into Turkey and Muscovy; but his colleague did him such ill turns with the Patriarch, that the Great Duke banished him into Siberia.”

In his third book he says, that this Ambassador, the Prince of Chalais, and his colleague, Roussel, who was a merchant by profession, were sent by Henry IV. Now it is sufficiently probable, that as Henry IV. died in 1610, he did not send an embassy to Muscovy in 1634. If Louis XIII. had sent as his Ambassador a person of so illustrious a family as that of Tallerand, he would never have given him a merchant for his colleague; all Europe

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would have heard of this embassy; and the singular outrage done to the King of France would have still made more noise.

Having disputed this incredible fact in the first volume, and finding that Olearius's fable had met with some credit, I thought it my duty to apply for information to the Office for Foreign Affairs in France; and here follows what gave rise to Olearius's mistake.

There was, indeed, a person of the house of Tallérand, who, being extremely fond of travelling, went to Turkey, without acquainting his family of his intention, or desiring any letters of recommendation, and happened to fall in with a Dutch merchant, named Rouffel, who was agent to a trading company, and had some connection with the French Ministry. The Marquis de Tallérand kept company with him, in order to go and see Persia; but the two travellers falling out by the way, Rouffel falsely accused him to the Patriarch of Moscow, and he was indeed ignominiously sent into Siberia. He, however, found means to inform his family of his calamitous condition, and about three years after M. Des Noyers, Secretary of State, prevailed on the Court of Moscow to set him at liberty.

This is the true state of the fact; which is deserving of a place in history, only as it may serve as a caution to the reader against the prodigious number of anecdotes of this kind that are related by travellers.

There

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There are historical errors; there are also historical lies. What Olearius relates is only an error; but to say, that one of the Czars ordered an Ambassador's hat to be nailed to his head, is a lie. To be mistaken in the number and strength of the ships of a naval armament, to give a country more or less extent than it really has, this is only an error, and an error that is very excusable. They who repeat the ancient fables in which the origin of all nations is enveloped, may be, indeed, accused of a weakness common to all the writers of antiquity; but this is not lying, it is only transcribing tales.

Inadvertency also leads us into many faults, which cannot well be called lies. If in Hubner's New Geography we find the limits of Europe placed where the River Oby empties itself into the Black Sea, and that Europe has thirty millions of inhabitants; these are oversights which every intelligent reader can rectify. This geographer often talks of large, populous, and fortified cities, that are now only desolate villages: it is easy in this case to see, that time has changed the whole; the author consulted ancient writers, and what was true in their time, is no longer so at present.

Authors also sometimes fall into mistakes in drawing inferences. Peter the Great suppressed the patriarchate; Hubner adds, that he declared himself Patriarch: some supposititious anecdotes of Russia go still farther, and say, that he actually officiated in that quality. In this manner we see erroneous conclusions drawn from a certain fact; a thing but too common.

What

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What I call an historical lie, is still more common; it is what has been invented through adulation, satire, or a love of the marvellous. The historian who, for the sake of ingratiating himself with a powerful family, praises a tyrant, is a venal wretch; he who aims at blasting the memory of a good Prince, is a monster; and the romancer who distributes his imaginations as truths, is despised: he whose fables were formerly held in veneration by whole nations, would not, in our days, be read even by the dregs of the people.

There are critics still greater liars, who either falsify passages, or who do not understand them; who, inspired by envy, ignorantly write against useful works: we may compare these to vipers gnawing the file, and e'en let them go on.

HISTORY

H I S T O R Y

OF THE

EMPIRE OF RUSSIA

UNDER

PETER THE GREAT.

P A R T II.

C H A P I.

Campaign on the PRUTH.

SULTAN Achmet III. declared war against Peter I. not indeed for the sake of assisting the King of Sweden, but merely to promote his own interest. The Kan of Crim Tartary was apprehensive of so formidable a neighbour. The Porte had taken umbrage at his ships on the Palus Mæotis and on the Black Sea; at his fortifying the town of Asoph, and opening the famous harbour of Taganroc; in short, at such a series of victories, and at his ambition, which is naturally increased by successes.

It is neither probable, nor true, that the Ottoman Porte waged war against the Czar on the banks of the Palus

Palus Mæotis, merely because a Swedish ship had seized a small vessel on the Baltic, on board of which had been found a letter of a certain Minister, whose name has never hitherto been mentioned. Norberg pretends, that this letter contained a plan of the conquest of the Turkish Empire; that it was carried to Charles XII. in Turkey; that Charles sent it to the Divan; and that this was the cause of war being declared by the Turks. The absurdity of this fable is sufficiently apparent. The Kan of the Tartars, having conceived a much greater umbrage than the Divan of Constantinople * at the works erected in the neighbouring town of Asoph, was the person at whose instigation the Porte was induced to take the field.

Livonia was not yet entirely reduced by the Czar, when Achmet III. resolved on a declaration of war against Russia in the month of August. It was hardly possible for him to have heard of the surrender of Riga. To insist on the reimbursing of the King of Sweden for all the damages, that Prince had sustained at the action of Pultowa, would have been as ridiculous, as that of demanding the demolition of Petersburg would have been wild and extravagant. Charles's behaviour at Bender was truly romantic; but the Divan would have acted in a still more romantic manner than Charles, had they insisted on such conditions.

The Kan of the Tartars, the great promoter of this war, went to visit Charles in his retreat †. They were

* The account given by Norberg of the Grand Seignior's pretensions is equally false and puerile. He says, that Sultan Achmet sent the Czar the conditions on which he would make peace with him, before he had even declared war against him. These conditions, if we are to credit the Confessor of Charles XII. were, that the Czar should renounce his alliance with King Augustus, reinstate Stanislaus, restore Livonia to Charles, and indemnify him in ready money for the losses he had sustained at Pultowa: and lastly, that Petersburg should be demolished. The whole of this account was forged by one Bracey, an indigent author, who wrote a work, entitled, *Memoirs satyrical, historical, and entertaining*. Norberg drew from this spring. This Father-Confessor does not seem to have been the confidant of Charles XII.

† Nov. 1710.

united by the same interests, Asoph being situated on the frontiers of Little Tartary. Charles and the Kan had been the greatest sufferers by the Czar's aggrandizement. But this Kan had not the command of the Grand Seignior's army: he resembled the feudatory Princes of Germany, who serve the Empire with their own troops, subordinate however to the Commander in Chief of the Imperial Army.

The first * step taken by the Divan was to cause Tolstoy, the Czar's Ambassador, to be arrested in the public streets of Constantinople, and to be committed, together with thirty of his domestics, to the castle of the *Seven Towers*.

This barbarous custom, which even savages would blush at, proceeds from this: that there are generally foreign Ministers resident at the Ottoman Porte, whereas the Turks never send any Ambassadors in ordinary to other Courts. They consider the Ambassadors of Christian Princes in the light only of Consuls; and as they hold the Christians in the same contempt as the Jews, they do not so much as treat them according to the law of nations, except when necessity obliges them to it; at least, they have hitherto persisted in this ferocious insolence.

The celebrated Vizir Achmet Coprogli, who took Candia in the reign of Mahomet IV. had behaved in an outrageous manner to the French Ambassador's son; and even carried his brutality so far, as to strike him, and afterwards commit him to prison: yet Louis XIV. haughty as he was, shewed no other resentment for this affront, than that of sending another Minister to the Porte. The Princes of Christendom, notwithstanding their extreme delicacy among themselves in regard to the point of honour, and their even having made it an article of the public law, seem totally to overlook it in treating with the Turks.

No Sovereign was ever more affronted in the person of his Ministers than the Czar of Russia. Within the

space of a few years, he saw his Ambassador at the Court of London imprisoned for debt; his Plenipotentiary in Poland and Saxony broke upon the wheel by order of the King of Sweden; his Minister to the Porte seized and imprisoned at Constantinople like a common malefactor.

The Queen of England, as we have observed, made him satisfaction for the outrage committed at London; the horrid affront he received by the treatment of Patkul, was effaced by Swedish blood at the battle of Pultowa; but fortune suffered the violation of the law of nations by the Turks to remain unpunished.

The * Czar was obliged to quit the seat of war, in order to go and fight on the west frontiers of Turkey. He began with ordering ten regiments to advance from Poland towards Moldavia†; he directed Marshal Shermetoff to march from Livonia with the troops under his command; and leaving Prince Menzikoff at the head of affairs in Petersburg, he set out himself for Moscow, to give orders for the ensuing campaign,

A Regency was established ‡. His regiment of guards began their march, and he ordered the young nobility to come and learn the art of war under his command, some as cadets, and others as subaltern officers. At the same time Admiral Apraxin was dispatched to Asoph, to take the command of the land and sea forces in that neighbourhood. After concerting all these measures, the Czar issued out orders at Moscow for acknowledging a new Czarina. She was the very same person who had been made prisoner of war at Marienburg in 1702. Peter, in 1696, had repudiated his wife Eudoxia Lapoukin §, by whom he had two children. The canons of his Church permit divorce; and had it been prohibited, he would have passed a law to render it lawful.

The young captive of Marienburg, who had been named Catharine, was superior to her sex, as well as to

* Jan. 1711.

† It is very singular that so many authors should confound Walachia and Moldavia.

‡ Jan. 18, 1712.

§ Or Lapouchin.

her misfortunes. She had rendered herself so agreeable by her behaviour, that the Czar would always have her near his person; she attended him in his travels, and in his most toilsome expeditions, sharing his fatigues, and soothing his cares with the chearfulness of her disposition and kindness of her manners: she was a perfect stranger to all that luxury and ceremony, which the rest of her sex have converted into a real necessity. But what rendered her a more extraordinary favourite was, her neither being envied nor opposed; nor was any other person sacrificed to make room for her promotion. She often appeased the Czar's anger, and added to his greatness, by inspiring him with more clemency. In a word, she became so necessary to him, that in 1707 he married her privately. He had already had two daughters by her, and the following year she was brought-to-bed of a princess, who was afterwards married to the Duke of Holstein*. The marriage between Peter and Catharine was made public the same day on which he set † out with his consort, in order to try his fortune with the Ottoman Empire. The disposition he had made seemed to promise success. The Hetman of the Cossacks was to overawe the Tartars, who had made incursions into the Ukraine so early as the month of February; the Russian army was advancing towards the Neister; and another body of troops, under the command of Prince Gallitzin, was on their march through Poland. The first operations were all in his favour; for Gallitzin having met in the neighbourhood of Kiow with a numerous body of Tartars, who had been joined by some Cossacks, and by a few Poles of Stanislaus's party, and even by a corps of Swedes, defeated them intirely, killing five thousand. These Tartars had already made ten thousand slaves in the open country; for it had been, time immemorial, the custom of those people, to carry with them more cords than scimetars, in order to bind the prisoners they take in war. The captives were all set at liberty; and their captors put to

* March 17, 1711. † The Journal of Peter.

the sword. If the whole army had been collected, it would have amounted to sixty thousand men: for it was likewise to be reinforced by the troops of the King of Poland. This Prince, who was indebted for every thing to the Czar, waited upon him at Jaroslaw, on the river Sane, the 3d of June, 1714, and promised to send him a considerable reinforcement. War was declared against the Turks in the name of the two Kings; but the Polish Diet, unwilling to break with the Porte, would not ratify what Augustus had promised. Thus it was ever Peter's fate to have in King Augustus an ally who could never assist him. He had the same expectations in Moldavia and Walachia, and experienced the same disappointments.

Moldavia and Walachia were to shake off the Turkish yoke. These two countries had been inhabited by the ancient Daci, who, together with the Gepidæ, long infested the Roman Empire: they were subdued by Trajan; and Constantine I. converted them to Christianity. Dacia then became a Province of the Eastern Empire; but these same people soon contributed to the subversion of the Western, by serving under the Odoacers and Theodoric.

These Provinces were afterwards annexed to the Greek Empire; and when the Turks made themselves masters of Constantinople, they were governed and oppressed by their own Princes. At length they were intirely subdued by the Padicha, or Turkish Emperor, who grants the investiture of these countries. The Hospodar or Vaivod chosen by the Porte to govern these Provinces, is always a Christian of the Greek Church. By this disposition the Turks display their toleration, while our ignorant declaimers reproach them with indulging a persecuting spirit. The Prince on whom the Porte confers this office, is obliged to pay tribute; or, more properly speaking, is only a farmer of the revenues to the Grand Seignior: the dignity is granted to the highest bidder, or to him who makes the most valuable presents to the Grand Vizir; as in the case of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. Sometimes a Dragoon, or in other words an Interpreter to the Divan, obtains

obtains this appointment. Moldavia and Walachia are seldom united under the same Vaivod, the Porte dividing those Provinces, in order to secure their obedience. Demetrius Cantemir had obtained Moldavia. This Vaivod Cantemir was said to be descended from Tamerlane, because Tamerlane's name was Timur, and Timur had been a Kan of Tartary; and from the name of Timur Kan they derived the family of Cantemir.

Bassaraba Brancovan had been invested with Walachia. This Bassaraba had met with no genealogist that would make him the descendant of a Tartarian Conqueror. Cantemir considered this as a favourable opportunity to shake off the Turkish yoke, and to render himself independent, by means of the Czar's protection. He acted exactly the same part with Peter, as Mazeppa had before with Charles. He had begun with engaging even Bassaraba, the Hospodar of Walachia, to enter into the conspiracy, of which he himself expected to reap all the fruits, his design being to make himself master of both Provinces. The Bishop of Jerusalem, who happened to be at that time in Walachia, was the soul of this conspiracy. Cantemir promised to assist the Czar with troops and provisions, in the same manner as Mazeppa had promised to assist the King of Sweden, and was not at all more punctual to his engagement than Mazeppa had been.

General Sheremetoff advanced as far as Jassi, the capital of Moldavia, to reconnoitre the country, and support the execution of these grand projects. Cantemir waited upon him in person, and met with the reception of a Prince; but the only princely action he did, was his publishing a manifesto against the Turkish Empire. The Hospodar of Walachia having soon detected his ambitious views, abandoned his party, and returned to his duty. The Bishop of Jerusalem, justly dreading the punishment due to his crime, saved himself by flight; the inhabitants of Walachia and Moldavia continued their allegiance to the Ottoman Porte; and they who had undertaken to supply the Russians with provisions, went and carried them to the Turkish army.

Baltagi-Mehemet, the Turkish Vizir, had already passed the Danube at the head of a hundred thousand men, and was directing his march towards Jassi, along the banks of the Pruth, formerly called the Hierafus, which empties itself into the Danube, and almost forms the boundary of Moldavia and Bessarabia. In this situation he deputed Count Poniatowsky, a Polish gentleman who had followed the fortune of the King of Sweden, to intreat that Prince to come and pay him a visit, and see his army. Charles would not yield to this request, but insisted that the Grand Vizir should pay him the first visit, at his asylum in the neighbourhood of Bender: his pride prevailed over his interests. Poniatowsky, upon his return to the Turkish camp, made an apology for Charles XIIth's refusal: "I expected," said the Vizir to the Kan of the Tartars, "that the proud Infidel would behave in this manner." This mutual haughtiness, which is always disgusting to persons in power, did no service to the King of Sweden; who ought to have been sensible by this time, that the Turks were promoting not his interests, but their own.

While the Ottoman army was passing the Danube, the Czar advanced through the frontiers of Poland, and passed the Boristhenes, to the relief of Marshal Shermetoff, who was encamped to the south of Jassi, on the banks of the Pruth, and in danger of being surrounded by a hundred thousand Turks and an army of Tartars. Peter, before he crossed the Boristhenes, was fearful of exposing Catharine to a danger which every day became more alarming; but Catharine considered this solicitude of the Czar as an affront to her affection and courage. She pressed the matter so strongly, that the Czar could not deprive himself of her company: the troops were pleased at seeing her on horseback at the head of the army, for she seldom made use of her carriage. The Russians had to march through deserts beyond the Boristhenes, to cross the Bog and the river Tiras, which is now called the Niefter; and after this they had still another desert to march through, before they arrived at Jassi, on the banks of the Pruth. But
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the Czarina encouraged and diffused alacrity among the troops, sent refreshments to the sick officers, and extended her tenderness even to the common soldiers.

At length they reached Jassi*, where they intended to erect magazines. Bassaraba, the Hospodar of Wallachia, being reconciled to the Porte, but pretending to be in the interest of the Czar, proposed an accommodation to this Prince, though the Grand Vizir had given him no such commission: the Czar perceiving the snare, declined the proposal, demanding only a supply of provisions, which the other was neither able nor willing to grant. It would have been difficult to have procured any from Poland; and as for the provisions which Cantemir had promised, and which he in vain expected to procure from Walachia, it was impossible for them to reach the army; so that the situation of the Russians was become extremely alarming. To these disappointments was added a dangerous scourge, that of whole clouds of locusts, which covered the fields, devoured the grain, and even infected the air: the troops were frequently distressed for want of water on their march, and exposed to the scorching heat of the sun, in a sandy desert, so that they were obliged to bring water in casks to supply the army.

Peter, in the course of this march, by an extraordinary fatality, happened to be within a very little distance of Charles XII; for Bender is only five-and-twenty leagues from the place where the Russian army lay encamped in the neighbourhood of Jassi. Parties of Cossacks penetrated very near to Charles's retreat; but the Grim Tatars, who were hovering in these parts, protected the King of Sweden from any surprize. Impatient, but undaunted, he waited in his camp the issue of the war.

The moment Peter had formed some magazines, he hastened his march along the right bank of the Pruth. The decisive point was, to prevent the Turks, who were posted lower down, on the left bank, from passing that

* July 4, 1711.

G g 2

river,

river, and attacking his army. By such a manœuvre he would have rendered himself master of Moldavia and Walachia. He detached General Janus with the vanguard, to oppose the passage of the Turks; but this General did not arrive till after the very time they were crossing over on their pontons; upon which he thought proper to retire, and his infantry were pursued, till the Czar arrived in person and extricated him from the enemy.

The Grand Vizir's army, in consequence of this success, soon advanced towards that of the Czar, along the banks of the river. These two armies were very different. That of the Turks, reinforced by the Tartars, was said to consist of near two hundred and fifty thousand men; while that of the Czar did not exceed thirty-seven thousand effective men. A pretty considerable body under General Renne was then on the other side of the mountains of Moldavia, upon the river Sireth; and the communication was cut off by the Turks.

The Czar began to be in want of provisions; his troops, though encamped at no great distance from the river, were scarce able to supply themselves with water, being exposed to a numerous artillery, which the Grand Vizir had planted on the left side of the Pruth, together with a body of troops, who fired incessantly upon the Russians. From this disposition, the truth of which may be depended upon, it appears that the Vizir Balragi-Mehemet, so far from being a person of weak understanding, as the Swedes have represented him, displayed uncommon skill in his conduct. To pass the Pruth within sight of an enemy, to oblige that enemy to retire, and to pursue him in his retreat; to intercept all at once the communication between the Czar's army and a body of cavalry, to surround that army, and cut off its retreat; to deprive it of water and provisions, and to keep it within reach of his batteries, which were on the opposite side of the river; all these were so many proofs of his activity and foresight.

Peter then found himself in a more critical situation than Charles XII. did at Pultowa. Surrounded like
that

that Prince by a superior force ; experiencing greater distress for want of provisions ; deceived, like him, by the promises of a Prince who had not power to fulfil them, he determined to retreat ; and attempted to procure a more favourable situation for a camp, by returning towards Jassi.

For this purpose he decamped in the night * ; but scarce had he began his march, when the Turks by break of day fell upon his rear. The regiment of Preobrazinsky guards, for a considerable time, checked the impetuosity of the enemy. The troops formed themselves into order of battle, and made retrenchments with their waggons and heavy baggage. The same day the whole Turkish army made a second attack upon the Russians. That the latter were able to defend themselves, notwithstanding what has been affirmed to the contrary, appears from this, that they did really sustain for a considerable time the shock of the whole Turkish army †, of whom they killed great numbers, without being thrown into confusion.

There were at that time in the Turkish army two of the King of Sweden's officers, Count Poniatowski and Count Spare, with a few Cossacks of Charles XIIth's party. My papers inform me, that these Generals advised the Grand Vizir not to fight, but to cut off all water and provisions from the enemy, and thus oblige them either to surrender or die. Other memoirs, on the contrary, pretend, that they excited the Grand Vizir to fall sword in hand upon the Russian army, and to exterminate an enemy that was already enfeebled, distressed, and almost starved with hunger. The first advice seems the most circumspect, the second more conformable to the idea of Generals bred under Charles XII.

The truth is, the Grand Vizir by break of day attacked the Russians in the rear, which was in some disorder. The Turks found only a line of four hundred men, who formed with the utmost expedition. A German General, named Alard, had the honour of

* July 20, 1711.

† July 20,

making so excellent a disposition of his men, and with so much quickness, that the Russians withstood the Ottoman army, during the space of three hours, without losing ground.

The discipline to which the Czar had habituated his troops, now repaid him well for his trouble. The time had been when sixty thousand men were defeated at Narva by eight thousand, from their having been undisciplined; and here was an instance of a rear of about eight thousand Russians making head against a hundred and fifty thousand Turks, and obliging them to retire, with the loss of seven thousand men.

The two armies, after this smart encounter, entrenched themselves in the night; but the Czar's troops were still hemmed in, and distressed for want of provisions and water. They were near the banks of the Pruth, yet unable to come at the river; for so soon as any of their soldiers ventured to fetch water from thence, the Turks on the opposite side were sure to ply them with a numerous artillery charged with cartridge-shot. Thus the Turkish army, which had attacked the Russians in battle, still continued to annoy them with their cannon.

The Russians, by their disadvantageous situation, by the inequality of their numbers, and the want of provisions, were in great danger of being utterly undone. Continual skirmishes were still carried on, and the Czar's cavalry being almost intirely dismounted, could be of no further service, unless by fighting on foot; so that his situation seemed to be altogether desperate. All the memoirs and histories of the times unanimously agree, that the Czar, undetermined within himself, whether he should renew the engagement the next day with the enemy, and expose his wife, his army, his empire, and the fruit of all his labours, to a danger which seemed almost insuperable, retired to his tent oppressed with anxiety, and labouring under convulsions, to which he was sometimes subject, and which his present uneasiness tended to increase. In this state of mind, a prey to the most torturing disquietude, and unwilling that his distracted

tracted condition should be known, he gave orders that no one should be permitted to enter his tent. Then it was that he experienced the good effect of having permitted his wife to accompany him in this expedition. Catharine entered his tent, notwithstanding his prohibition.

A woman who had faced death during all these engagements, who had been no less exposed than any other person to the fire of the Turkish artillery, had a right to speak. She did, and persuaded her husband to try what could be done by negociation.

It has been an immemorial custom throughout the East, whenever a person asks audience of the sovereign, or his representative, never to accost them without presents. Catharine got together the few jewels she had brought with her in this military expedition, from which all magnificence and luxury had been banished; and to these she added the furs of a couple of black foxes: as for the money, it was designed for the Kiaja. She herself pitched upon an intelligent Officer, who with two valets was to carry the presents intended for the Grand Vizir, and safely to deliver the money into the hands of the Kiaja. This Officer was likewise entrusted with a letter from Marshal Sheremetoff to Mehemet-Baltagi. The Czar's memoirs take notice of the letter, but do not mention the particulars of the negociation entered into by Catharine; yet the whole affair is sufficiently authenticated by the declaration of Peter himself, published in 1723, when he caused the Empress Catharine to be crowned. "She has been," said he, "of great assistance to us in all times of danger, but particularly at the battle of Pruth, where our army was reduced to two-and-twenty thousand men." If the Czar had really no more than two-and-twenty thousand fighting men, whom famine and the sword threatened with destruction, the service done on this occasion by Catharine was equal to the favours with which she was loaded by her husband. The manuscript journal *

* Journal of Peter the Great, Page 177.

of Peter the Great makes mention, that the 20th of July, the day on which this memorable engagement was fought, there were thirty-one thousand five hundred and fifty-four infantry, and six thousand six hundred and ninety-two cavalry, most of them dismounted; he must therefore, in that battle, have lost sixteen thousand two hundred and forty-six fighting men. The same memoirs affirm, that the loss of the Turks was much more considerable than his; for as they attacked tumultuously, and without any order, not one of the enemy's shot missed them. If this be true, the battle of Pruth, on the 20th and 21st of July, was one of the bloodiest that has been fought these many ages.

We must either suspect that Peter the Great was mistaken, when at the coronation of the Empress he testifies his acknowledgements to that Princess, declaring, "She had preserved his army from destruction, when reduced to twenty-two thousand men;" or, we must dispute the veracity of this journal, wherein we are assured, that on the day the battle was fought, his army on the banks of the Pruth, exclusive of the corps encamped on the Sireth, amounted to thirty-one thousand five hundred and fifty-four infantry, and six thousand six hundred and ninety-two cavalry. According to this account, the battle would have been more dreadful and bloody than the several relations of historians, and the various "memoirs on both sides seem hitherto to have represented it." There must surely be some mistake in this case; a thing very frequent in the relations of campaigns, whenever they enter into details: the safest way is always to abide by the principal event, the victory and the defeat: as to what either of them may have cost, we are rarely informed thereof with any exactness.

However much the Russian army might have been diminished, still the Czar flattered himself that so intrepid and obstinate a resistance would incline the Grand Vizir to grant terms of peace honourable to the Porte, agreeable to his master, and at the same time not too mortifying to the Empire of Russia. The great merit of Catharine seems to have been her discovering this possibility,

possibility, at a crisis when the Russian Generals saw nothing but inevitable destruction.

Norberg, in his History of Charles XII. mentions a letter from the Czar to the Grand Vizir, wherein he expresses himself in the following terms: "If, contrary to my intention, I have had the misfortune of incurring the displeasure of his Highness, I am ready to redress whatever complaint he may have against me. I conjure you, most noble General, to prevent the farther effusion of blood; and I intreat you, from this moment, to put a stop to the excessive fire of your artillery. Please to accept of the hostage I have sent you."

This letter, like most of the pieces published at a venture by Norberg, has all the appearances of a forgery. It is dated the 11th of July, N. S. and the letter to Baltagi-Mehemet was not sent till the 21st, N. S. It was not the Czar, but Marshal Sheremetoff who wrote this letter. No such expressions as, "the Czahr as had the misfortune of incurring the displeasure of his Highness," were made use of; such terms are fit only for a subject who implores his master's forgiveness. As for an hostage, it is out of the question; none was sent: the letter was carried by an Officer, whilst the artillery played on both sides. Sheremetoff only reminded the Vizir of some overtures of peace made by the Porte, through the channel of the English and Dutch Ministers, at the beginning of the campaign, when the Divan demanded the cession of the citadel and harbour of Taganroc, which had been the real causes of the war.

Several hours having passed before any answer was received from the Grand Vizir, it was apprehended that the bearer had been killed, or was detained by the Turks: therefore a second messenger was dispatched*, with a duplicate of a letter; and a Council of War was held, at which Catharine assisted: the result of it, signed by ten General Officers, was as follows:

* July 21.

"Should

“Should the enemy, instead of accepting of the conditions offered, insist on our laying down our arms, and surrendering at discretion, it is the unanimous opinion of all the Generals and Ministers, that an attempt be made for breaking through the enemy.”

In consequence of this resolution, a trench was thrown up round the baggage, and the Russians had advanced within a hundred paces of the Turkish army; when, at length, the Grand Vizir proclaimed a suspension of arms.

All the accounts published by the Swedish party speak of the Vizir as a cowardly wretch, who had suffered himself to be bribed; in the same manner as many writers have accused Count Piper of having taken money from the Duke of Marlborough to induce the King of Sweden to continue the war against the Czar, and a Minister of France has been accused of venality in the treaty of Seville. Such accusations should never be advanced, but on evident proofs. It is very rare that Prime Ministers stoop to those scandalous meanesses, which soon or late are discovered, if not by those who gave the money, at least by the public records, which are authentic vouchers of the treachery. A Minister has the eyes of all Europe on him; his honour is the basis of his credit; and he is always rich enough not to stand in need of commencing traitor.

The post of Viceroy of the Ottoman Empire is of such eminence, and its profits in time of war are so immense; such were the plenty and magnificence in the tents of Baltagi-Mehemet, such the plainness, and especially the scarcity, of provisions in the Czar's army, that it rather became the Grand Vizir to give than to receive: a slight compliment of furs and rings sent by a woman, according to the custom of all Courts, or rather of all Eastern Courts, could not be considered as bribery. The free and open behaviour of Baltagi-Mehemet seems a strong confutation of the accusations with which so many books are sullied in their accounts of this affair. Vice-Chancellor Shaffiroff went into his tent with a numerous retinue; every thing was transacted publicly,

publickly, and could not be transacted otherwise. The negotiation was even entered on before a man in the King of Sweden's service, who was a domestic of Count Poniatowski, one of Charles XIIth's officers, and who acted on this occasion as interpreter: the articles, moreover, were publickly taken down in writing by the Vizir's first secretary, Hummer Effendi. Even Count Poniatowski himself was there; and the present to the Kiaja was offered publickly, and according to the ceremonial: in short, every thing passed in the oriental manner. Presents were made on both sides, so that nothing could have less the appearance of treachery. What determined the Vizir's assent to a cessation of arms, was, that, at that very time, a body of troops commanded by General Renne, on the river Sireth, in Moldavia, had crossed three rivers, and was near the Danube, where Renne had taken the town and castle of Brahila, though defended by a numerous garrison under a Bashaw. The Czar had, besides, another corps advancing from the frontiers of Poland. It is also very probable, that the Vizir was unacquainted with the scarcity among the Russians: the accounts of stores and provisions are never communicated to the enemy; it is usual, on the contrary, in the presence of an hostile army, to boast of plenty, even under the severest distress. Desertion between the Turks and Russians is not known, as among us; the difference of clothing, of religion, and of language, does not permit it; so that the Grand Vizir had no exact idea of the deplorable condition to which the Czar's army was reduced.

The Vizir, who was not fond of war, yet had conducted it well, conceived that his expedition would be sufficiently successful, in delivering up to the Grand Seignior the cities and harbours for which he was fighting; in sending back General Renne's victorious army from the Danube into Russia, and in secluding for ever an enterprising Prince from all entrance into the Palus Mæotis, the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and the Black Sea; lastly, in not risquing certain advantages on the chance of a fresh battle (in which, after all, despair might get
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the better of superior strength). He had seen, the very day before, his Janissaries repulsed; and instances were not wanting, of victories gained by the smaller number. These were his reasons, which, however, were not satisfactory to the Swedish officers who were then in his army, nor to the Kan of the Tartars. The view of the Tartars was the continuance of their pillages on the frontiers of Russia and Poland; that of Charles the XIIth. was to be revenged of the Czar; but the General and Prime Minister of the Ottoman Empire was not prompted either by the private revenge of a Christian Prince, nor by an avidity of booty, which swayed the Tartars. A suspension of arms being settled, the Russians supplied themselves with provisions, purchasing them from the Turks. The articles of this peace were not such as La Mottraye has related, and Norberg has copied after him. The Vizir, among other conditions, at first required, that the Czar should engage to concern himself no farther in the affairs of Poland, and on this Poniatowski insisted; but, in reality, it was for the interest of the Turkish Empire that Poland should continue weak and disunited: this article therefore terminated in withdrawing the Russian troops from the frontiers. The Kan of the Tartars demanded a tribute of forty thousand sequins; but, after a long debate, it passed in the negative.

The Vizir for some time insisted that Cantemir should be delivered up to him, as Patkul had been at the solicitations of the King of Sweden. Cantemir's case was exactly similar to that of Mazeppa, who, by the Czar's order, had been formally tried and executed in effigy. The Turks did not act in that manner. Processes for contempt, and the publication and posting up sentences, being unknown among them, and much less executions in effigy, their law prohibiting all human representations of any kind whatever, it was in vain they insisted on Cantemir's being delivered up. Peter wrote these very words to Shaffiroff the Vice-Chancellor:

"I will sooner give up to the Turks all the country
 "as far as Cursk; I shall still have some hopes of re-
 "covering

"covering it; but my honour once lost, is irreparable; it must not be violated. It is all we have peculiar to ourselves: renouncing that, is ceasing to be a Monarch."

At length the treaty was concluded, and signed near Falksen, a village on the banks of the Pruth. It was agreed, that Asoph and its territory should be restored, with the ammunition and artillery that were in it before the Czar took it in 1696; that the harbour of Taganroc, on the sea of Zabache, should be demolished, together with that of Samara, on the river of that name, and several small forts. An article was added relating to the King of Sweden; and this very article plainly indicates the Vizir's displeasure against him. It was stipulated; that this Prince should be suffered to return into his own dominions unmolested by the Czar; and farther, that the Czar and he might make peace, if so disposed.

It is very evident, from the singularity of this article, that Baltagi-Mehemet had not forgot Charles's haughtiness; and who knows but this very haughtiness might have inclined Mehemet towards a peace? The fall of the Czar was the rise of Charles; and it is not in the human heart to contribute to the power of those who despise us. In short, this Prince, who had refused coming to the Vizir's army, when every thing required his being on good terms with that Minister, now hastened thither towards the conclusion of a business that seemed likely to frustrate all his hopes. The Vizir, instead of going himself, only sent two Bashaws to meet him, deferring that ceremony till Charles was drawing near to his tent.

It is well known that the conversation turned only on reproaches: the Vizir's answer to the King, who upbraided him for not taking the Czar prisoner, when he might, has been considered by many historians as the answer of an idiot: "If I had taken the Czar, said he, who would have governed his Empire?" Yet we may easily perceive it to be the answer of a person offended; and the addition of these words, "It is not right that
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"all Kings should leave their homes," sufficiently shew how much he was disposed to mortify the Bender-guest.

Charles derived no other satisfaction from his journey, than that of tearing the Grand Vizir's robe with one of his spurs. The Vizir, who might have made him repent of this indignity, overlooked it, and in so doing shewed himself much superior to Charles.

If amidst the blaze and tumult of this Monarch's life, any thing could have brought him to see how much grandeur is subject to the reverie of fortune, it is, that at Pultowa, a pastry-cook had made his whole army lay down their arms; and that at the Pruth, both the Czar's fate and his own had been decided by a wood-cleaver; for this Vizir, Baltagi-Mehemet, had been a wood-cleaver in the seraglio, as his name signifies; and instead of being ashamed of it, he accounted it an honour: so different are the oriental manners from ours.

The Sultan and all Constantinople were highly satisfied with the Vizir's conduct. The public rejoicings lasted a whole week; and Mehemet's Kiaja, who brought the treaty to the Divan, was immediately made Boujouk-Imraour, or Master of the Horse. This is not the way of dealing with those whose conduct is disapproved.

It would seem as if Norberg knew but little of the Ottoman Government, since he says, "that the Grand Seignior courted his Vizir; and that Baltagi-Mehemet was to be dreaded." The Janissaries have often been fatal to the Sultans; but there is not one single instance of a Vizir who has not readily been sacrificed, on an order from his master: besides, Mehemet was not able to support himself by his own interest. Moreover, it is a contradiction to affirm in the same page, that the Janissaries were incensed against Mehemet, and that the Sultan dreaded his power.

The King of Sweden was now reduced to the resource of caballing at the Ottoman Court. A King who had made Kings, was to be seen contriving means that memoirs and petitions which the Ministry would not receive, might be delivered to the Sultan. Charles employed

all the artifice which a subject would make use of to supplant a Minister in his Sovereign's esteem. This was the manner in which he acted against the Vizir Meli-met and all his successors. Sometimes application was made to the Sultana Validé, by a Jewels; sometimes an eunuch was the messenger. At last a man was procured, who, mingling himself among the Grand Seignior's guards, acted the madman, with a view that the Sultan taking notice of him, he might give him a memorial from the King. But the result of all these manoeuvres was, that Charles had the mortification to see himself deprived of his *thaim*; or in other words, the subsistence he received daily from the Porte's generosity, and which amounted to 1500 * livres French money; the Grand Vizir, instead of the *thaim*, transmitting to him an order, in the softened form of an advice, to leave Turkey.

Charles was more determined than ever to stay, still flattering himself that he should re-enter Poland and Russia at the head of a Turkish army. The issue of his inflexible boldness, in the year 1714 is known to all the world; how with his Secretaries, Valets, Cooks, and Grooms, he fought against an army of Janissaries, Spahis, and Tartars; how he was a prisoner in the country where he had enjoyed the most generous hospitality; and how, after a stay of five years in Turkey, he returned to his own dominions in the disguise of a courier. It must be owned, that if there was any thing like reason in his conduct, it was very different from that of the rest of mankind.

CHAP. II.

Sequel of the Affair on the Pauth.

IT may here be proper to remind the reader of a passage already related in the History of Charles XII. It happened, that during the cessation of arms which

* 62l. 10s. Sterling.

preceded the treaty of the Pruth, two Tartars having surpris'd two Italian officers of the Czar's army, came to offer them for sale to an officer of the Janissaries. This breach of the public faith the Vizir punished with death. How is this rigid punctuality reconcileable with that violation of the law of nations in the person of the Ambassador Tolstoy, who had been seized in the streets of Constantinople, by order of the same Grand Vizir? There is always some reason for contradictions in men's conduct. Baltagi-Mehemet was offended with the Kan of the Tartars, on account of his violent opposition to a peace, and was determin'd to let him know that he was master.

The Czar, as soon as the peace was signed, march'd back by the way of Jassi as far as the frontiers, followed by a body of eight thousand Turks, whom the Vizir sent not only to observe the motions of the Russian army, but to hinder the roving Tartars from molesting them.

Peter, in conformity to the treaty, immediately caus'd the fortresses of Samara and Kamienska to be demolish'd; but the restitution of Asoph and the demolition of Taganroc were attended with greater difficulties. According to the terms of the treaty, the artillery and stores at Asoph belonging to the Turks, were to be distinguish'd from those sent thither by the Czar since his conquest of the place. The Governor's delay in this business gave just offence to the Porte. The Sultan was impatient to receive the keys of Asoph, the Vizir continued to promise, and the Governor still deferred sending them. Baltagi-Mehemet on this account lost both his master's favour and his post; the Kan of the Tartars and his other enemies prevail'd against him; he was involved in the disgrace of several Bashaws; but the Grand Seignior, convinc'd of his fidelity, instead of touching either his life or fortune, sent him to Mytilene*, where he acted as Governor. This simple removal, without depriving him of his wealth; but above all, his being made Governor of Mytilene, evidently contradicts every thing Norberg has asserted

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concerning the Vizir's having been bribed by the Czar.

Norberg says, that the Bostangi Bachi, who came to him to demand the seal of the Empire, and to signify to him his arrest, declared him "a traitor, who had disobeyed his master; who had sold himself to the enemy for money, and was guilty of not having attended to the King of Sweden's interest." In the first place, declarations of this sort are never used in Turkey. The Sultan's orders are issued in secret, and as privately executed. Secondly, if the Vizir had been declared a traitor and rebel, such crimes, in a country where they are never pardoned, would have been punished with death. Lastly, if he had been disgraced for not taking due care of Charles XII's. interest, it is plain this Prince must have had so much weight at the Ottoman Court, that the other Ministers would have courted his favour, and even prevented his desires; whereas, through fear of his power, on the contrary, Jussuf Balhaw, Aga of the Janissaries, who succeeded Mehemet-Baltagi in the Vizirship, openly expressed the same sentiments in regard to the behaviour of that Prince, as his predecessor; so far from serving him, he made it his business to rid himself of such a dangerous guest; and when Poniatowski, Charles the Twelfth's companion and favourite, came to compliment the Vizir on his promotion, the latter said to him, "Infidel, I give you notice, that the first time I hear of any intrigues of thine, I will have thee thrown into the sea, with a stone about thy neck."

This compliment, which Count Poniatowski himself relates in the memoirs he drew up at my request, shews beyond all doubt, the little influence Charles the Twelfth had at the Porte. Norberg's whole account of the affairs of Turkey carries with it the strongest marks of prejudice and misinformation: every thing he has advanced in it without proof concerning the pretended corruption of a Grand Vizir; that is, of a man who had the disposal of upwards of sixty millions of money per annum, without being accountable; must be ranked among the errors of party-spirit and political falsehoods. I have still in

my possession the letter written by Count Poniatowski to King Stanislaus, immediately after the peace of the Pruth. He accuses Baltagi-Mehemet of hating the King of Sweden, of bearing an aversion to war, and being too easy-tempered; but not a word of corruption: he knew too well what the post of Grand Vizir is, to think that the Czar could purchase the treachery of the Viceroy of the Ottoman Empire.

Shaffiroff and Shéremetoff, who remained as hostages at Constantinople, were not treated as they would have been if they had been convicted of purchasing the peace, and of acting in concert with the Vizir to deceive the Sultan: they were at perfect liberty, and had two companies of Janissaries to protect them.

Tolstoy the Russian Ambassador being discharged out of the Seven Towers, immediately after the peace of the Pruth, the Ministers of England and Holland interposed with the new Vizir for the performance of the articles.

At length, Asoph was restored to the Turks, and the fortresses stipulated in the treaty demolished. Though the Ottoman Porte little concerns itself with the broils of Christian Princes, yet at that time, it was pleased to see itself the arbiter between Russia, Poland, and Sweden. It required that the Czar should withdraw his troops out of Poland, and thus Turkey be freed from such a dangerous neighbour: it was also desirous that Charles might return into his dominions, as this would foment the broils among the Christian Princes; but never did the Grand Seignior intend to furnish him with an army. The Tartars were ever desirous of war, like men who are eager to follow a lucrative profession. The Janissaries wished for it, but rather from a hatred of the Christians, from ferocity, and a delight in licentiousness, than from any other motive. After all, however, the negotiations of the English and Dutch Ministers prevailed against the opposite party. The peace of the Pruth was confirmed; with this addition in the new treaty, that the Czar should within three months recal all his troops out of Poland; and that the

the Turkish Emperor should immediately send back Charles the Twelfth.

We may judge from this new treaty, whether the King of Sweden had so much influence at the Porte, as some have related. He was evidently sacrificed by the new Vizir Jussuf Basha, as well as by Baltagi-Mehemet. His Historians, to conceal this fresh affront, have been reduced to the mean resource of charging both Vizirs with bribery. Such imputations, so often repeated without any manner of proof, are rather the clamours of an impotent cabal, than historical vouchers. The spirit of party, when obliged to acknowledge facts, constantly attempts to disgrace them with false motives and circumstances; and thus it is that all cotemporary histories are handed down to posterity, who can hardly find it possible to distinguish truth from falsehood.

C H A P. III.

Marriage of the Czarowitz, and solemn Declaration of Peter's Marriage with Catharine, who discovers her Brother.

THIS unfortunate campaign of the Pruth proved more fatal than the battle of Narva; for by that defeat Peter had profited so as to recover all his losses, and dispossess Charles XII. of Ingria. But by the treaty of Falksen, besides losing all his harbours and fortresses on the Palus Mæotis, he was also to renounce the sovereignty of the Black Sea. He had still a vast field left for his enterprizes; various institutions in Russia were to be completed; his conquests on Sweden were to be pursued; King Augustus was to be securely established in Poland; and an harmony with his allies to be cultivated. His health was so much impaired by fatigue, that he went to the waters of Carlsbad in Bohemia; but while he was drinking them, he gave

directions for an attack on Pomerania, and in the mean time Stralsund was blockaded, and five small towns taken.

Pomerania is the most northern Province of Germany, bounded on the east by Prussia and Poland, on the west by Brandenburg, on the south by Mecklenburg, and on the north by the Baltic Sea. It has changed masters almost every century. Gustavus Adolphus possessed himself of it in the famous Thirty Years War; and by the treaty of Westphalia it was formally ceded to the Swedes, the Bishoprick of Camin, and some small places in Further Pomerania, excepted. The whole Province should naturally belong to the Elector of Brandenburg, in virtue of family-compacts made with the Dukes of Pomerania. On the extinction of the ducal line in 1637, the House of Brandenburg, according to the laws of the Empire, had a clear right to this Province; but necessity, the first of all laws, getting the better of the family-compacts at the treaty of Osnaburgh, almost the whole of Pomerania remained from that time the reward of Swedish valour.

The Czar's intention was to strip the Crown of Sweden of all its German Provinces. To accomplish this, it was requisite to form an alliance with the Electors of Brandenburg and Hanover, and likewise with Denmark. Peter with his own hand wrote the several articles of the treaty he was meditating with those powers, and the whole detail of the operations necessary for the conquest of Pomerania.

Oct. 25, At this very time, he married his son Alexis in 1711. the town of Torgaw to the Princess of Wolfenbüttele, sister to the Empress of Germany, Charles the Sixth's consort; a marriage that proved very unfortunate, as it cost both parties their lives.

The Czarowitz was the fruit of Peter's first marriage with Eudoxia Lapukin, whom he espoused in 1689. She was now confined in a monastery at Sufdale. Her son Alexis Petrowitz being born the first of March 1690, was in his twenty-second year. This Prince was not yet

yet known in Europe. A Minister, whose memoirs on the Court of Russia have been printed, says, in a letter to his master, dated August 25, 1711, "That this Prince was tall and well-made; that he greatly resembled his father, with a very good heart, and such a sense of religion, that he had read the whole Bible through no less than five times; that he delighted much in the ancient Greek Historians; that he had a ready comprehensive genius, was acquainted with the mathematics, understood war, navigation, and hydraulics; was master of the German, and learning French; but that his father would never allow him to be instructed in any polite accomplishments."

This is a very different portrait from that which the Czar himself some time after drew of this unfortunate son. We shall see with how much concern his father reproaches him with all the vices and defects most opposite to those good qualities which this Minister admired in him.

It remains with posterity to decide between a foreigner whose judgment may have been precipitate or adulatory, and a father who held it his duty to sacrifice the sensations of nature to the good of his Empire. If the Minister had no better knowledge of Alexis's mind than of his person, his testimony is of little weight. He says, the Prince was tall and well-made; whereas, by the accounts I have received from Petersburg, he was neither.

Catharine, his mother-in-law, did not assist at this marriage; for, though considered as Czarina, she had not been formally acknowledged such; and being stiled only Highness at the Czar's Court, her rank was still too mysterious for her to sign a contract, or for the German ceremonial to allow her a place suitable to her dignity, as the spouse of Czar Peter. She was then at Thorn, in Polish Prussia. The Czar immediately sent away the new-married couple to Wolfenbuttle, and soon brought back the Czarina to June 9, Petersburg, with his usual expedition and simplicity. 1712.

After concluding his son's marriage, he gave directions for the more solemn declaration of his own, and Febr. 19, celebrated it at Petersburg. The ceremony
1712. was as splendid as was possible in a country, as it were, newly created; and at a time when the finances had suffered by the late Turkish war, and the vigorous prosecution of that with Sweden. The Czar alone planned the rejoicings, and, as usual, worked at the preparatives. Thus was Catharine publicly acknowledged Czarina, in return for having saved the Czar and his army.

The acclamations with which this marriage was received at Petersburg, were sincere; but the applauses of subjects to the actions of an absolute Prince are always suspicious: they were confirmed by all sensible persons throughout Europe; who with pleasure saw, and nearly at the same time, on one side, the heir of this vast monarchy, without any other glory than that of his birth, married to a Princess; and on the other, a conqueror and legislator publicly admitting to his bed and his throne an unknown captive, taken at Marienburg, and who had no other recommendation than her merit. This approbation has become more general, in proportion as men's minds have been enlightened by that sound philosophy, which has made so much progress within these forty years; a sublime and circumspect philosophy, which teaches us to pay only external tokens of regard to any kind of grandeur and power, and to reserve our more sincere respect for real talents and public services.

Concerning this marriage, I shall faithfully relate what I meet with in the dispatches of Count Bassewitz, who was Aulic Counsellor at Vienna, and for a long time Minister of Holstein to the Court of Russia. He was a man of merit, and of great probity and candour; his memory is much respected in Germany. Here follows what he says in one of his letters: "The Czarina
" had not only been useful to Peter by saving his repu-
" tation, but was become necessary to the preservation

“ of his life. This Prince was unhappily subject to very
 “ painful convulsions, which were thought to be the
 “ effect of a poison given to him in his youth. These
 “ pains Catharine had found the secret of removing by
 “ studied succours and laborious offices, of which she
 “ alone was capable, giving herself entirely up to the
 “ preservation of a health equally valuable to the State
 “ and herself. Thus the Czar, not being able to live
 “ without her, raised her to his bed and throne.”

Fortune, which had afforded so many extraordinary scenes in this part of the world, and had raised the Empress Catharine from abasement and distress to the highest degree of exaltation, favoured her with another singular event some years after the solemnization of her marriage.

Here is what I find in a curious manuscript of a person * at that time in the Czar's service, and who speaks as an eye-witness,

An Envoy from King Augustus to the Czar, returning to Dresden by the way of Courland, overheard in an inn, a man, whose necessitous appearance was the cause of his being treated with that contempt and insult to which such a condition is too often exposed. The stranger with proper resentment said to them, that could he but once come to the speech of the Czar, they would not treat him thus; and that he should perhaps find at that Prince's court greater friends than they were aware of.

The Envoy, who heard this discourse, had the curiosity to question this person; and on his vague answers, viewing him more attentively, he thought that in many of his features he discerned some resemblance to the Empress. On his arrival at Dresden, he could not forbear writing to a friend of his at Petersburg, about this adventure. The letter fell into the hands of the Czar, who sent instructions to Prince Repnin, Governor of Riga, to make an enquiry after the man mentioned in the letter; and by the diligence of a person whom the

Prince dispatched to Mittau in Courland, he was found out. His name, he said, was Charles Scavronski; he was son to a Lithuanian gentleman who had been killed in the Polish wars, leaving two children in the cradle, a boy and a girl; both had no education but from nature, being destitute of every thing. Scavronski having been separated from his sister in their childhood, all he knew of her was, that she had been taken at Marienburg in 1704, and he believed her still to be with Prince Menzikoff, in whose family he imagined she might have bettered her fortune.

Prince Repnin, according to his master's express orders, had Scavronski brought to Riga, under pretence of some state crime; and a kind of charge being drawn up against him, he was sent under a strong guard to Petersburgh, but with directions that he should be well treated on the road.

On his arrival at Petersburgh, he was immediately carried to a steward of the Czar's, named Shepleff, who, being instructed in the part he was to act, drew from this man several particulars relating to his condition; after which he told him, that the charge sent against him from Riga was of a very serious nature, but that he would have justice done to him; that his best way would be to present a petition to his Majesty, which should be drawn up in his name, and that it should be so contrived that he should deliver it himself.

The next day the Czar went to dine at Shepleff's, and Scavronski was brought before him: his answers to the Czar's questions being perfectly natural and consistent, Peter was fully convinced of his being the very brother of the Czarina. They had both been in Livonia, in their childhood. All Scavronski's answers to the Czar's questions perfectly coincided with what his wife had told him about her birth, and the early misfortunes of her life.

The Czar having now no longer any doubt about Scavronski, proposed to his wife the day following to go and dine at Shepleff's. After dinner, he ordered

Scavronski

Scavronski to be brought before him. He appeared in the same clothes which he had worn in his journey; it being the Czar's order that he should not be seen in any other garb than that to which his misfortunes had habituated him.

He again questioned him before his wife; and I find by the manuscript, that at last he said these very words to her: "This man is certainly thy brother! Come, Charles, kiss the Empress's hand, and embrace thy sister."

The author of this account adds, that the Empress fainted, and that on her recovery the Czar said to her, "There is nothing in this affair that is at all mysterious. This gentleman is my brother-in-law. If he has merit, we will make something of him; if not, we can do nothing with him."

There seems to me to be something extremely noble, as well as great simplicity in this speech; it shews a greatness of mind that is very uncommon. The author says, that Scavronski remained a long time with Shepleff, that a considerable pension was settled on him, and that he lived very retired. Here he closes his account of this adventure, which thus only serves to discover Catharine's birth: but it is farther known that this gentleman was created a Count; that he espoused a young lady of quality; and that he had two daughters married to the first noblemen in Russia. Let the few who may have a knowledge of these particulars, distinguish what is true in this adventure from any supposititious additions. The author of the manuscript does not seem to have related these transactions with a view to entertain his readers with something of the marvellous, his narrative not having been designed for public view: he writes candidly to his friend, what he says he had seen. It is probable, that in some circumstances he may be mistaken, but the ground-work seems to be very true; for if Scavronski had known himself to be brother to such a personage, he would not have delayed so many years making himself known; and this discovery, however singular it seems, is not so extraordinary as Catharine's

Catharine's elevation. Both afford a striking proof of destiny, and should teach us to suspend our judgments in hastily considering so many ancient events as fables, though less repugnant, perhaps, to the common order of things than the whole history of this Empire.

The entertainments given by Peter on account of his own and his son's marriage, were not transitory diversions, which, after draining the Treasury, are scarcely remembered. He finished the Foundery and the Admiralty, with the improvement of the roads; new ships were constructed, canals dug, an Exchange and warehouses erected, and the maritime commerce of Petersburg began to flourish. He gave orders for the Senate to be removed from Moscow to Petersburg. This took place in the month of April, 1712; and thus this new town became, as it were, the capital of the Empire. Several of the Swedish prisoners were employed in the embellishments of this city, which might be said to owe its foundation to their defeat.

C H A P. IV.

Stetin taken. Descent in Finland. Events of 1712.

PETER seeing himself happy in his family, in his government, in his wars against Charles the Twelfth, in his negotiations with all the Princes who were for driving the Swedes out of the Continent, and shutting them up for ever in the Peninsula of Scandinavia, now turned his views to the western coasts of the North of Europe, forgetting the Palus Mæotis and the Black Sea. The keys of Asoph, after being a long time refused to the Bashaw who was to take possession of that place in the name of the Grand Seignior, had, at length, been delivered up; and in spite of all the cares of Charles the Twelfth, and the intrigues of his partizans at the Ottoman Court, and even amidst many symptoms

symptoms of a fresh war, Russia and Turkey were at peace.

Charles the Twelfth still obstinately persisted in remaining at Bender, and making his fortune and his hope dependent on the caprice of a Grand Vizir; whilst all his Provinces were threatened by the Czar, who had armed Denmark and Hanover against him, was on the point of bringing Prussia to declare, and was exciting Poland and Saxony.

The same inflexible pride with which Charles behaved towards the Porte, where all his dependence now lay, he manifested against his distant enemies, united to crush him. From his retreat in the desarts of Bessarabia, he braved both the Czar and the Kings of Poland, Denmark, and Prussia, as well as the Elector of Hanover, who soon after became King of England, and the Emperor of Germany, whom he had so highly offended, in passing through Silesia as a conqueror. The Emperor now revenged himself, by leaving him to his ill fortune, and affording no manner of protection to the Swedish territories in Germany.

He might easily have disconcerted the league 1712. that was then forming against him. He had only to give up Stetin in Pomerania to the first King of Prussia, Frederick Elector of Brandenburg, who had indisputably a very legal claim to that place; but at that time he did not consider Prussia as a preponderating Power: neither Charles nor any one else could foresee that the little Kingdom of Prussia, then little better than a desert, and the Electorate of Brandenburg, would so soon become formidable. He would listen to no accommodation; and being determined to break rather than bend, he ordered the most vigorous resistance to be made every where both by land and sea. Though his dominions were almost drained of men and money, his orders were obeyed; the Senate of Stockholm fitted out a fleet of thirteen ships of the line, a militia was formed, and every man became a soldier. The courage and resolution of Charles the Twelfth seemed to animate all his subjects, now almost as unfortunate as their master.

It is difficult to conceive, that Charles had a settled plan of conduct. He had still a party in Poland, which, with the assistance of the Crim Tartars, might ravage that unhappy Kingdom, but were by no means able to restore King Stanislaus. His hopes of inducing the Ottoman Porte to second this party, and of convincing the Divan that two hundred thousand men ought to be sent to their assistance, under pretence that the Czar still succoured in Poland his ally Augustus, were to the highest degree chimerical.

He remained at Bender, waiting the effect of all his visionary intrigues, whilst the Russians, Danes, and Saxons, were in Pomerania. Peter took his spouse with him in this expedition. The King of Denmark had already made himself master of Stade, a sea-port in the Duchy of Bremen; and the Russian, Saxon, and Danish armies were before Stralsund.

Such was the state of affairs when King Stanislaus, seeing the deplorable condition of so many Provinces, the impossibility of recovering the throne of Poland, and every thing in confusion by the obstinate absence of Charles the Twelfth, held a meeting of the Swedish Generals, who were defending Pomerania with an army of between ten and eleven thousand men, the only and last resource Sweden had in those Provinces.

He proposed to them an accommodation with King Augustus, and offered himself to be the victim of it: he spoke to them in French, and the following are the very words he made use of, according to a copy of his speech which he left with them: it was signed by the General-Officers, among whom was one of the name of Patkul, cousin-german to the unfortunate Patkul who had been broke on the wheel by order of Charles XII.

"I have hitherto been an instrument of glory to the Swedish arms; I will not be the fatal cause of their destruction. I here declare, that I sacrifice my crown and my own interest to the preservation of the King's sacred person, humanly seeing no other way of getting him from the place where he now is."

After

After making this declaration, he prepared to set out for Turkey, in hopes of softening the imprudent firmness of his benefactor by this sacrifice. His ill fortune brought him into Bessarabia precisely at the very time when Charles, after promising the Sultan to quit his asylum, and receiving money with an escort for his return, persisted nevertheless in remaining, and bad defiance to the Turks and Tartars. Supported only by his domestics, he maintained against a whole army the unfortunate action of Bender, where the Turks, though they might easily have killed him, contented themselves with making him prisoner. Stanislaus arriving at this strange juncture, was himself seized. Thus two Christian Kings were prisoners in Turkey at the same time.

Precisely at this period, when all Europe was in arms, engaged in a no less fatal war against a considerable part of Europe to secure to a Grandson of Louis XIV. the throne of Spain, England gave peace to France; and Marshal Villars, by his victory at Denain in Flanders, saved that nation from its other enemies. France having for a century past been in alliance with Sweden, its honour and interest were concerned that its ally should not be deprived of all her German possessions. But Bender was too far off for Charles to know what was doing in France.

The Regency of Stockholm ventured to ask money of France, exhausted as it was, even at a time when Louis XIV. could not so much as pay his household. This negotiation, from which little could be expected, was entrusted to Count Sparre, who came to Versailles, and represented to the Marquis de Torcy, the utter inability of the Swedish Regency to pay the small army remaining to Charles XII. in Pomerania; that it was on the point of dispersing for want of pay; that France's only ally was going to lose Provinces, the preservation of which was necessary to the general balance; that indeed Charles XII. in the career of his victories, had too much neglected the King of France; but that the generosity of Louis XIV. was equal to the misfortunes of Charles. The French Minister convinced the Swede, that

that the Crown of France was unable to assist his master, and Sparre despaired of success.

A private citizen of Paris did what Sparre had given up all hopes of obtaining. This was Samuel Barnard, a banker, who by the Court remittances to foreign countries, and other contracts, had acquired an immense fortune. This man was intoxicated with a kind of honour seldom met with in his profession; being passionately fond of fame and distinction; besides, he well knew that the French Ministry sooner or later made ample returns for any risque in its service. The Swedish Minister dining with him one day, and flattering his foible, Barnard rising from table, ordered six hundred thousand livres for the Count de Sparre. After this liberal action he went to the Marquis de Torcy, and said to him, "I have given Sweden two hundred thousand crowns on your account; you will repay me, when you are able."

Count Steinbock, who commanded Charles's army, little expected such a supply, at a time when his troops were on the point of breaking out into a mutiny. Seeing the storm gather about him, and having nothing but promises to avert it; fearing also to be hemmed in by three armies of Russians, Danes, and Saxons; he had proposed a cessation of arms, thinking that Stanislaus's abdication and his presence would bring Charles XII. to relent; or that, at least, it would be prudent for him to make use of negotiations, were it only to gain time and save his troops. He accordingly dispatched a courier to Bender, representing to the King the deplorable state of his affairs and of his troops, and informing him that the proposal of the truce was a step of absolute necessity, and that he should be very happy in obtaining it. This courier had not been gone three days, and Stanislaus was not yet set out, when Steinbock received the two hundred thousand crowns from Barnard. This sum, in a desolate country, and at that time especially, was an immense treasure. Elate with this supply, which set every thing to rights, he encouraged his army, procured stores and recruits, and saw himself at the head of
twelve

twelve thousand men; so that instead of seeking for a suspension of arms, he thought only of fighting.

This is the same Steinbock, who in 1710, after the defeat at Pultowa, avenged Sweden on the Danes, in an irruption they had made into Schonen: he marched against them at the head only of a militia, who had strings instead of bandeliers; yet he gained a complete victory. Like all the other Generals of Charles the Twelfth, he was active and intrepid; but his bravery was tarnished by his cruelty. It was he, who, after a battle against the Russians, ordered all the prisoners to be put to death; and seeing a Polish officer of the Czar's party, who had taken hold of Stanislaus's stirrup to save his life, Steinbock shot him in that Prince's arms, as hath been related in the Life of Charles XII.; and King Stanislaus has since told the author, that nothing but the respect and gratitude he felt for the King of Sweden, prevented him from breaking Steinbock's head.

General Steinbock now advanced by the way of Wismar towards the united force of the Russians, Saxons, and Danes: he soon found himself near the Danish and Saxon armies, the Russians being three leagues behind. The Czar sent three couriers one after the other to the King of Denmark, desiring him to wait his coming up, and representing the danger of fighting the Swedes without a superiority in number. The King of Denmark, averse from sharing the honour of a victory of which he had made himself sure, advanced against the Swedes, and attacked them near a place called Gadebusch. This action was a fresh instance of the extreme enmity between the Swedes and Danes, the officers of both nations furiously rushing on each other, and falling dead with their wounds.

Steinbock had gained the victory before the Russians could reach the field of battle. Some days after he received the King his master's answer, vehemently blaming all thoughts of a suspension of arms; assuring him that he would never pardon this disgraceful step unless repaired; and that, strong or weak, he must either conquer

conquer or die. Steinbock, however, had anticipated this order by his victory.

But this victory was similar to that which had afforded a moment's consolation to King Augustus, when in the course of his misfortunes he had won the battle of Calish against the Swedes, who were every where conquerors. The victory of Calish served only to aggravate the misfortunes of Augustus, and that of Gadebusch only retarded the ruin of Steinbock and his army.

The King of Sweden, when he received intelligence of Steinbock's victory, imagined his affairs again on a good footing. He even conceited, that he should be able to bring the Ottoman Empire to declare, as it still continued to threaten the Czar with a new war; and in this hope he ordered General Steinbock to march into Poland, continually flattering himself, on the least success, that the times of Narva, when he used to give law, were returning. These ideas were soon after destroyed by the affair of Bender, and his captivity among the Turks.

The victory of Gadebusch produced no other advantage than the reducing to ashes in the night the little town of Altena, inhabited by traders and manufacturers; a defenceless place, and which, not having taken arms, should not have been molested. It was totally destroyed: several of the inhabitants perished in the flames, and others, especially the aged and children, who had fled from the conflagration, died with fatigue and cold at the gates of Hamburg*. Such has often been the fate of thousands of mankind for the quarrels of two men. This horrid advantage was all that Steinbock obtained; the Russians, Danes, and Saxons pursued him so closely, after his victory, that he was obliged to solicit shelter for himself and his army in Tonningen, a fortified place in Holstein.

The Dutchy of Holstein was, at that time, one of the most desolated countries, and its sovereign one of

* Norberg, Chaplain and Confessor to Charles XII. says very coolly in his History, that General Steinbock set fire to the town, only because he had no carriages for bringing away the furniture.

the most unfortunate Princes in the North. He was Charles the Twelfth's own nephew. It was for his father, brother-in-law to this Monarch, that Charles, before the battle of Narva, had carried his arms to Copenhagen itself; and it was for him that he had made the treaty of Travendal, by which the Dukes of Holstein recovered their rights.

This country was part of the nursery of the Cimbrians, and those old Normans who conquered Neustria in France, all England, Naples, and Sicily. At present, no country is less able to make conquests than this part of the ancient Chersonesus Cimbrica: it consists only of two small Dutchies; Sleswick, belonging in common to the King of Denmark and the Duke of Holstein; and Gottorp, to the Duke alone. Sleswick is a sovereign principality; Holstein, a member of the German, or, as it is more commonly called, the Roman Empire.

The King of Denmark and the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp were of the same House; yet the Duke, nephew to Charles XII. and his presumptive heir, had an hereditary aversion to the King of Denmark, who was oppressing him in his minority. The Bishop of Lubeck, a brother of his father, and administrator of this unfortunate pupil's dominions, saw himself between the Swedish army, which he durst not assist, and the Russian, Danish, and Saxon army, which threatened extremities. It was necessary, however, to save Charles's troops without giving offence to the King of Denmark, who was now become master of the country, and draining it of all its substance.

The Bishop was entirely governed by the famous Baron Goertz, a man of a most crafty and enterprising disposition; whose vast and inventive genius, which was never at a loss for resources, thought nothing too bold, nothing too difficult. Insinuating in negotiations, and daring in his schemes, he was a perfect master in the art of pleasing and persuading; and those whom he had gained by the blandishments of his words, he carried away by the heat of his genius. He had afterwards

over Charles XII. the same ascendant which now subjected the Bishop-Administrator to him: and it is known, that his head paid for the honour of having governed the most inflexible and obstinate Prince that ever filled a throne.

Goertz had a private conference with Steinbock at Jan. 21, Usum*, and promised to deliver into his hands ^{1712.} the fortress of Tonningen, without bringing into question the Bishop-Administrator his master; and, at the same time, the King of Denmark received assurances from him, that it should not be delivered up. This is the way that most negotiations are carried on; affairs of state being quite different from those of private persons. The honour of Ministers rests wholly on success; and that of private persons on keeping their word.

Steinbock appeared before Tonningen; the Governor refused to open the gates: this prevented all cause of complaint from the King of Denmark against the Bishop-Administrator; but Goertz caused an order to be issued in the name of the young Duke for admitting the Swedish army into Tonningen. Stamke, the Cabinet-Secretary, added the Duke's signature: thus Goertz only implicated a child, who had no right as yet to give orders: at the same time he served the King of Sweden, whose favour he was courting, and he obliged the Bishop-Administrator his master, who appeared not to consent to the admission of the Swedish army. The Governor of Tonningen, who was easily gained over, delivered up the town to the Swedes; and Goertz cleared himself as well as he could with the King of Denmark, protesting that all had been done contrary to his advice.

Although part of the Swedish army was then received into the town, and the rest remained under its own cannon, yet this did not save it*: General Steinbock was obliged to surrender himself prisoner of war with eleven

* Bassewitz's Secret Memoirs.

thousand men, as about sixteen thousand had surrendered after the battle of Pultowa.

It was stipulated that Steinbock, with his officers and soldiers, might be ransomed, or exchanged. Steinbock's ransom was fixed at eight thousand Imperial crowns; a very trifling sum; yet for want of it, that General remained a prisoner at Copenhagen till his death.

The territories of Holstein were now at the disposal of an incensed conqueror; and the young Duke was the object of the King of Denmark's revenge, for the abuse which Goertz had made of his name. Thus Charles XII's. whole family became involved in his misfortunes.

Goertz, though his schemes were baffled, still intent on acting a capital part in this confusion, reassumed a project he had entertained of procuring a neutrality for the Swedish possessions in Germany.

The King of Denmark was just upon the point of entering Tonningen; George Elector of Hanover was for having the Dutchies of Bremen and Verden, with the town of Stade; Frederick-William, the new King of Prussia, had cast his eye on Stetin; and Peter I. was preparing to make himself master of all Finland. Thus a partition was projected of Charles XII's. foreign dominions; but the difficulty was to reconcile such a variety of interests with a neutrality. Goertz negotiated at the same time with all the Princes concerned in this partition. He was posting day and night from one Province to another. He induced the Governor of Bremen and Verden to deliver up those two Dutchies to the Elector of Hanover, in sequestration, lest the Danes should seize on them for themselves. He prevailed on the King of Prussia to take on him the sequestration of Stetin and Wismar, jointly with Holstein; by which means the King of Denmark would no longer molest Holstein, nor get entrance into Tonningen. It was certainly a strange way of serving Charles XII. to put his territories and strong places into the hands of those who might keep them for ever; but Goertz, by putting those Powers in possession of the towns, by way of

hostage, forced them to a neutrality, at least for some time; hoping, that afterwards Hanover and Brandenburg might be induced to declare for Sweden. He was also bringing into his views the King of Poland, whose ruined dominions stood in immediate need of peace: in short, he was for rendering himself a necessary man to all the Princes. He disposed of Charles the Twelfth's patrimony as a guardian, who, to save one part of the estate of a ward reduced to distress, and incapable of transacting his affairs himself, sacrifices the other. All this he did without any formal commission, without any other authority for his proceedings than that of the Bishop of Lubeck, who himself was in no way authorized by Charles XII.

Such was this Goertz, whose character has hitherto not been sufficiently known. Some Prime Ministers of potent States, as an Oxenstiern, a Richelieu, and an Alberoni, have been seen to direct the motions of part of Europe; but that the Privy-Counsellor of a Bishop of Lubeck should do as much, without being owned by any potentate, is altogether unprecedented.

June 1713. At first he was successful. He concluded a treaty with the King of Prussia, by which this monarch engaged, on holding Stetin in sequestration, to preserve the rest of Pomerania for Charles XII. In consequence of this treaty, Goertz proposed to Meyerfeld, Governor of Pomerania, in order to facilitate a peace, to deliver up Stetin to the King of Prussia, believing the Swede who was Governor of Stetin might be as pliant as the Holstein Governor of Tonningen; but Charles the XIIth's officers were not accustomed to obey such orders. Meyerfeld answered, that if Stetin was entered, it should be over his body and the ruins of the place. He acquainted his master with this strange overture. The courier found Charles a captive at Demirtash, after his adventure at Bender. It was then questioned, whether Charles would not be detained a prisoner in Turkey all his life, and be sent to some island in the Archipelago or Asia. Charles from his prison sent to Meyerfeld the very same order he had sent to Steinbock, that

that he must die sooner than submit to the enemy, and be as inflexible as himself.

Goertz perceiving that all his measures were disconcerted by the Governor of Stetin, who would not hear of any neutrality or sequestration, formed the project, not only of having Stetin sequestrated, but also Stralsund; and he found means to bring the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, into a like treaty for Stralsund, as he had made with the Elector of Brandenburg for Stetin. He was convinced that it was impossible for the Swedes to keep those places without money and an army; and he hoped by these sequestrations to remove the scourge of war from all the North. Denmark itself listened to Goertz' negotiations. Prince Menzikoff, the Czar's general and favourite, eagerly came to his lure, being made to believe that Holstein might be given up to his master the Czar: he cajoled that Monarch with the plan of drawing a canal from Holstein into the Baltic; an undertaking than which nothing could have been thought of more to the taste of this enterprizing founder; and especially with the acquisition of a new power, in condescending to be a Prince of the German Empire, and thus being entituled to a vote at the Diet of Ratisbon, which he could always second with a powerful army.

It would be impossible for a man to assume a greater number of different forms, or turn himself more ways, or act a greater variety of parts, than this volunteer negotiator did. He went so far as to engage Prince Menzikoff to destroy that same city of Stetin which that General was for saving, and to bombard it, that Meyerfeld the Governor might be obliged to deliver it up on sequestration; venturing in this manner to offend the King of Sweden, whom he was for pleasing, and whom indeed, to his misfortune, he afterwards pleased too much.

When the King of Prussia found that a Russian army was bombarding Stetin, he began to fear that the place was lost to him, and would fall into the hands of Russia. This was the very point to which Goertz was for

bringing him. Prince Menzikoff wanting money, he procured him a loan of four hundred thousand crowns from the King of Prussia, and afterwards had the Governor of the place treated with, when this question was put to him: "Which had you rather see, Stetin in ashes under the dominion of Russia, or intrusted to the King of Prussia, who will restore it to the King your master?" The commandant at length complied. Menzikoff entered the city, and having received the four hundred thousand crowns, delivered it up with the whole of its territory to the King of Prussia, who, for form's sake, admitted two Holstein battalions into it; but this part of Pomerania was never restored.

From that time, the second King of Prussia, successor to a weak and expensive prince, laid the foundation of that grandeur, to which military discipline and œconomy have since raised his country.

Baron Goertz, after setting so many springs in motion, could not prevail on the Danes to spare the Province of Holstein, and lay aside their design on Tonningen. He failed in what seemed to be his chief scope; but in every thing else he succeeded, and especially in becoming a person of importance in the North, which was indeed his chief object.

The Elector of Hanover had already secured Bremen and Verden, Charles XII. being stripped of those possessions; the Saxons were before the city of Wismar; Stetin Sep. was in the hands of the King of Prussia; the 1713. Russians were going to besiege Stralsund, in conjunction with the Saxons, who were already in the Island of Rugen; and the Czar, in the midst of so many negotiations about neutralities and partitions, had made a descent in Finland. After having himself pointed the artillery before Stralsund, leaving the rest to his allies and Prince Menzikoff, he embarked in the month of May on board a fifty-gun ship built from a model of his own at Petersburg, and steered for Finland, followed by ninety-two galleys and one hundred and ten half-galleys, May 22, on board of which were sixteen thousand troops.

1713.
N. S.

The descent was made at Helsinfort, which is

situated
in 60° 10' N.

situated in the most southern part of this cold and barren country, in sixty-one degrees northern latitude.

The difficulties of this descent were many, yet it succeeded: an attack was made by way of diversion on one part, whilst the descent was carried on in another: thus the troops landed, and took the town. The Czar soon got possession of Borgo and Abo, and made himself master of the whole coast. The Swedes seemed now destitute of any further resource; this happening at that very time when the Swedish army under Steinbock had surrendered prisoners of war.

All these disasters of Charles XII. were followed, as we have seen, by the loss of Bremen, Verden, Stetin, and a part of Pomerania; King Stanislaus and Charles XII. were also prisoners in Turkey; yet the latter had not yet given up the conceit of returning into Poland at the head of an Ottoman army, of restoring Stanislaus to the throne, and of making all his enemies tremble.

C H A P. V.

Success of Peter the Great. Charles XII. returns to his Dominions.

PETER, in the midst of his conquests, was employed in improving his marine. He brought and twelve thousand families to Petersburgh, and kept all his allies steady to his fortune and person, though the interests of all were different, and many of their views quite opposite. His fleet at once threatened all the coasts of Sweden along the Gulphs of Finland and Bothnia.

Prince Galitzin, one of his Generals, trained up by himself, as they all were, advanced from Helsinfort, where the Czar had landed, into the center of the country, to the town of Tavasthus, a post which covered Bothnia, and was defended by some Swedish regiments, with eight thousand men. An action ensued, in which the Russians gained a com-

plete victory, and dispersed the whole Swedish army: they afterwards penetrated as far as Vaza, making themselves masters of the country, to the extent of fourscore leagues.

The Swêdes had still a naval force, with which they kept the sea. Peter, who had long been desirous of signalizing a navy of his own forming, left Petersburg, and got together a fleet of sixteen ships of the line, with one hundred and eighty galleys fit for working through the rocks which surround the Isle of Aland, and other islands not far from the coast of Sweden. Here he met with the Swedish fleet, which in large ships was much superior to his, but in galleys inferior; consequently fitter to fight in open sea than among rocks. This was a superiority which the Czar owed entirely to his own genius. He served in his fleet as Rear-Admiral, and received orders from Admiral Apraxin. Peter was for possessing himself of the Isle of Aland, which is but twelve leagues from Sweden. To do this, it was necessary for him to pass within sight of the Swedish fleet. This bold attempt was executed: the galleys cleared their way under the enemy's cannon, which indeed was not well served. The Russians got into Aland, and this coast being almost every where full of rocks, eighty-four small galleys were by dint of strength carried across a neck of land, and launched again in the sea called Hango, where the Czar's large ships were stationed. Erenschild, the Swedish Admiral, concluded he should have little difficulty in taking or sinking those eighty galleys: he therefore advanced towards them, but was received with such a fire, as made a most terrible slaughter among his soldiers and sailors. His galleys and prames, with the ship on board of which he had his flag, were taken, and he himself escaping in a boat, was wounded, and at length obliged to
 Aug. 8. surrender. He was brought on board the galley which the Czar himself worked: the remainder of the Swedish fleet got safe to Sweden; but the consternation was such, that even Stockholm did not think itself safe.

At this very time Colonel Schouvalow Neushloff attacked the only fortress the Swedes had left on the western coast of Finland, and reduced it; but after a most obstinate resistance.

The action of Aland, if we except that of Pultowa, was the most glorious of Peter's life. Being now master of Finland, the government of which he left to Prince Galitzin, having triumphed over the whole naval force of Sweden, and being more respected than Sept. 15. ever by his allies, he returned to Petersburgh; the tempestuous season not allowing his longer stay in the seas of Finland and Bothnia. An increase of joy on his arrival at his new capital, was the Czarina's being delivered of a Princess, but who died a year after. He instituted the order of St. Catharine in honour of his consort, and celebrated the birth of his daughter with a triumphant entry. This, of all the rejoicings to which he had accustomed his people, was what they were most fond of. In this spectacle, the first exhibition was the bringing into Cronslot harbour nine Swedish galleys, seven prames crouded with prisoners, and Admiral Erenschild's ship.

The Russian flag-ship was laden with cannon, colours, and standards taken in the conquest of Finland. All these spoils were carried to Petersburgh, the Russian troops marching in order of battle. A triumphal arch, which the Czar, according to custom, had himself designed, was decorated with the emblems of all his victories. Under this arch passed the conquerors, headed by Admiral Apraxin; the Czar followed him as Rear-Admiral, and the other officers according to their rank: they were all presented to the Viceroy Romadonofski, who on such occasions represented the Sovereign of the empire. He distributed gold medals among the officers, and every soldier and sailor had one of silver. The Swedish prisoners also passed under this arch; and Admiral Erenschild immediately followed the Czar his conqueror. On coming to the throne on which the Viceroy was seated, Admiral Apraxin presented to him Rear-Admiral Peter, who desired to be made a Vice-Admiral,

Admiral, in recompence of his services: his pretension was put to the vote, and, as the reader will readily imagine, every vote was in his favour.

After this ceremony, which filled all who bore a part in it with joy, and inspired all the spectators with emulation, love of their country, and desire of glory, the Czar made this speech, which deserves to be transmitted to the latestt posterity.

‘ Brethren, is there any one among you, who, twenty years ago, could have thought of fighting under me in the Baltic, in ships built by yourselves, and that we should be settled in those countries, which we have conquered by our great toils and courage? The ancient seat of Sciences is said to have been in Greece: they afterwards removed to Italy, whence they spread themselves through most parts of Europe: now is our turn, if you will second my designs, and add study to obedience. Arts circulate in the world, as blood in the human body; and perhaps they will settle their empire amongst us, in their return to Greece, their ancient country. I dare hope, that we shall one day make the most civilized nations blush by our achievements and solid glory.’

This is the genuine substance of his harangue, which well becomes a founder. It has generally been enervated by translation; but eloquent as this discourse is, its greatest merit is, to have been uttered by a Monarch, not only victorious, but the founder and legislator of his empire.

The old Boyards heard this speech with greater regret for the abolition of their ancient usages, than joy for the increasing glory of their sovereign; but the young nobility were affected by it even to tears. These Dec. 15, times were farther signalized by the arrival
1714. of the Russian Ambassadors from Constantinople, with a confirmation of the peace with the Turks; and not long before this, a Persian Ambassador came from Shah Ussin, bringing with him an elephant and five lions, as presents to the Czar. At the same time he received an embassy from Mehemet-Bahadir, Kan of the Usbecks, soliciting his protection against
other

other Tartars. The remotest parts of Asia and Europe did homage to his grandeur.

The Regency of Stockholm, reduced to despair by the melancholy state of their affairs, and the absence of their Sovereign, who seemed to relinquish all care of his dominions, had at length come to a resolution to consult him no longer; and immediately after the Czar's naval victory, they had asked the victor's passport for an officer, who was to carry proposals of peace. A passport was sent; but at that very juncture, Princess Ulrica-Leonora, sister to the King of Sweden, received advice, that the King her brother was at length preparing to leave Turkey, and come in person to defend his country. This put a stop to the negotiator's journey, who had been privately appointed. they acquiesced under their ill fortune till Charles XII. should come to repair it.

Accordingly Charles, after a stay in Turkey of five years and some months, left it towards the end of October 1714. It is known, that in this journey he shewed the same singularity that characterized all his actions. He reached Stralsund the twenty-second of November, 1714. Baron Goertz was soon with him, and though the author of part of his misfortunes, he justified himself so artfully, and laid before the King such brilliant hopes, that he riverted himself in his confidence, as he had gained that of all the Ministers and Princes with whom he had negotiated: he brought him to believe, that he should be able to detach the Czar's allies from him, the consequence of which must be an honourable peace, or, at least, an equal war. From this moment Goertz possessed a much greater sway over the mind of Charles than ever Count Piper had.

The first thing Charles did after his arrival at Stralsund was to ask money from the citizens of Stockholm. What little they had, they freely parted with: there was no refusing any thing to a Prince, who only asked to give, who lived as hard as the meanest of his troops, and exposed his life no less than they. His misfortunes, his distresses, his captivity, his return, affected both his

his subjects and foreigners; he was blamed, admired, and assisted. His glory was quite of an opposite kind to that of Peter: it consisted neither in the establishment of arts, in legislation, policy, or commerce, but was limited to his person. His principal merit was a very extraordinary valour. He defended his dominions with a greatness of mind equal to his intrepid bravery; and this was sufficient to strike all nations with respect for him. He had more well-wishers than allies.

C H A P. VI.

State of Europe at the Return of Charles XII. Siege of Stralsund.

WHEN Charles XII. returned to his dominions, towards the end of 1714, he found Europe in a very different state from that in which he had left it. Anne, Queen of England, was dead, after having made peace with France; Louis XIV. had secured Spain to his grandson, and obliged the Emperor of Germany, Charles VI. and the Dutch, to sign a necessary peace; so that the affairs of the South of Europe were assuming a new appearance.

Those of the North had undergone a still greater change: Peter was become the arbiter of that part of the world. The Elector of Hanover, who had been invited to the throne of England, was for enlarging his territories in Germany at the expence of Sweden, whose German possessions were the great Gustavus's conquests. The King of Denmark was for recovering Schonen, the best Province of Sweden, and which had formerly belonged to the Danes. The King of Prussia, as heir to the Dukes of Pomerania, claimed, at least, part of that Province. On the other hand, the House of Holstein, oppressed by the King of Denmark, and the Duke of Mecklenburg being at a kind of open war with his subjects, implored the protection of Peter I. The King

of Poland, Elector of Saxony, was desirous that Courland might be annexed to Poland; so that from the Elbe to the Baltic Sea, Peter was the support, as Charles had been the terror, of all the Princes.

Many negotiations had been set on foot since Charles's return, but without any success. He thought that he could assemble a sufficient number of men of war, and not be afraid of the Czar's maritime force; and in the land war he relied on his courage. As to the expences, Goertz, who on a sudden was become his Prime Minister, persuaded him they might be defrayed with copper coin, raised to ninety-six times above its natural value; which is a prodigy in the history of government. But so early as the first of April, 1715, Peter's ships took the first Swedish privateers which put to sea; and a Russian army marched into Pomerania.

The Prussians, Danes, and Saxons, joined each other before Stralsund, and Charles XII. after returning from his prisons of Demirtash and Demirtoca, near the Black Sea, found himself besieged on the shore of the Baltic.

We have already seen in his History with what cool and inflexible courage he braved the combination of all his enemies, when pent up in Stralsund. We shall here only add one circumstance, which, however trifling, is very expressive of his temper. Almost all his principal officers having been killed or wounded in the siege, Baron Reichel, a Colonel, being wearied out with watchings and fatigues, having thrown himself on a bench to take an hour's rest, was called to mount guard on the ramparts. He repaired thither, cursing the King's obstinacy, and such intolerable and romantic fatigues. The King, overhearing what he said, ran up to him, and throwing off his cloak, spread it before him: "You are quite spent, said he, my dear Reichel: I have slept an hour, and am fresh; I will mount guard for you: go to sleep, and when it is time, I will take care to wake you." At these words, forcing the Colonel to wrap himself up in his cloak, he left him to sleep, and went and mounted guard.

It was during this siege of Stralsund, that the new King of England, Elector of Hanover, purchased of the King of Denmark the Province of Bremen, with the town of Stade, which the Danes had taken October 15. from Charles XII. The purchase money amounted to eight hundred thousand German crowns; Thus Charles's dominions were bought and sold, whilst he was defending Stralsund inch by inch; till the place being reduced to a heap of ruins, his officers Decemb. 15. artfully forced him to quit it. When he was in safety, Duker, his General, delivered up those ruins to the King of Prussia.

Some time after, Duker appearing before Charles XII. he reproached him for having capitulated with his enemies. "I had your glory too much at heart, Sir," answered Duker, "to hold out in a town which your Majesty had quitted." However, this place did not remain long in the possession of the Prussians, as they restored it at the peace of the North, in 1721.

Charles received another mortification, during this siege of Stralsund, which would have given him more pain, had his heart been as sensible to friendship as it was to glory. His first Minister, Count Piper, a person well known throughout Europe, and ever faithful to his Prince, (whatever so many indiscreet writers have said of him, on a word of a single misinformed person); Piper, I say, had been his victim ever since the battle of Pultowa. As there had been no cartel subsisting between the Russians and Swedes, he had remained prisoner at Moscow; and though not sent into Siberia, as so many others were, his condition was to be pitied. At that time the Czar's finances were not managed with so much integrity as they ought to have been, and his many establishments required expences which he could scarcely answer: he also owed no inconsiderable sum to the Dutch, for two of their merchant-ships burnt on the coast of Finland. The Czar insisted that the Swedes ought to pay the money, and wanted to engage Count Piper to take this debt upon himself. He was brought from Moscow to Petersburg for this purpose, and received

an

an offer of liberty, if he would draw on Sweden for about sixty thousand crowns in bills of exchange. It is said, that he really drew for this sum on his wife at Stockholm, but that she was either unable or unwilling to answer the draught; and that the King of Sweden gave himself no manner of concern about the payment of it. This however is certain, that Count Piper was confined in the Castle of Schluffelburg, where he died, about a twelvemonth after, aged seventy years. His body was delivered to the King of Sweden, who indeed ordered him a very splendid funeral; an empty compensation for his many distresses and melancholy end.

Peter was satisfied with having Livonia, Esthonia, Carelia, and Ingria, which he considered as Provinces of his dominions, and of having farther added to them almost all Finland, which was as a security in case a peace could be brought about. In the month of April 1715, he had married a daughter of his brother's to Charles-Leopold, Duke of Mecklenburg, so that all the Princes of the North were either his allies or his creatures. He awed King Augustus's enemies in Poland. One of his armies, of about eighteen thousand men, easily dispersed all those combinations so often shooting up in that seminary of liberty and anarchy; and the Turks, at length faithful to treaties, left a full scope to his powers and designs.

In this flourishing condition, almost every day produced new establishments relating to the navy, army, commerce, or the laws: he himself drew up a military code for the infantry.

He was founding a Marine Academy at November 8. Petersburg; Lange was setting out for China by way of Siberia on commercial improvements; engineers were laying down maps throughout the whole Empire; the superb palace of Petershoff was building; and at the same time forts were erecting on the Irishi: the depredations of the tribes of Boukaria were checked; and in another part, the Kouban Tartars were kept in awe.

The measure of his prosperity seemed to be ¹⁷¹⁵ filled up this year, a son being born to him by his wife Catharine, and an heir to his dominions in a son of Prince Alexis; but of the former he was soon deprived by death; and we shall see, in the tragical fate of Alexis, that the birth of his son could not be accounted a happiness.

The Czarina's delivery interrupted the journeys, in which she continually attended her husband, both by land and sea; but as soon as she recovered her strength, she accompanied him in new expeditions.

C H A P. VII.

Wismar taken. The Czar again travels into foreign Countries.

WISMAR was at that time besieged by all the Czar's allies. This town, which naturally should have belonged to the Duke of Mecklenburg, stands on the Baltic Sea, seven leagues from Lubeck, and might rival it in commerce: it was formerly one of the most considerable Hanseatic towns; and the power of the Dukes of Mecklenburg over it was rather that of a protector than of a sovereign. This was another of those German acquisitions which the peace of Westphalia had secured to the Swedes; yet at length, like Stralsund, it was obliged to surrender. The Czar's allies lost no time in making themselves masters of it before his troops arrived; but Peter himself coming before the town after the capitulation, which had been February, transacted without him, made the garrison ¹⁷¹⁶ prisoners of war. He highly resented that his allies should leave the King of Denmark a town which should belong to the prince on whom he had bestowed his niece; and this resentment, of which Goertz, the Swedish Minister, soon availed himself, gave the first rise

rise to his projecting the peace between the Czar and Charles XII.

From this moment, Goertz represented to the Czar, that Sweden was sufficiently weakened, and that Denmark and Prussia were not to be too much aggrandized. The Czar approved his thought, having made war only as a politician; he thenceforth acted indolently against Sweden; and Charles the Twelfth being every where unfortunate in Germany, resolved to carry the war into Norway; one of those desperate steps which success alone can justify.

In the mean time, the Czar undertook a second tour through Europe. The first he had made as a person who sought information in the arts and manufactures; the second he performed as a Prince desirous of coming at the secrets of foreign courts. He conducted his wife to Copenhagen, Lubeck, Schwerin, and Newstadt; he had a meeting with the King of Prussia at the small town of Aversburgh: thence they proceeded to Hamburgh and Altena, lately burnt by the Swedes, but now partly rebuilt. In going down the Elbe to Stade, they passed by Bremen, where the magistrates entertained them with a firework and an illumination; the design of which, in a multitude of places, formed these words, Decemb. 17, 1716.

"Our deliverer comes to see us." At length he reached Amsterdam, and the little hut at Sardam, where about eighteen years before he had learned the art of ship-building: he now found it improved into a complete and pleasant structure, still known by the name of The Prince's House.

It may be judged with what joy and veneration he was received by a community of traders and mariners with whom he had lived as a companion: they looked on the conqueror of Pultowa as their pupil, who had founded trade and navigation in his empire, and had learnt among them to gain naval victories; they accounted him as one of their fellow-citizens raised to the imperial dignity.

In the life, the travels, and the actions of Peter the Great, as in those of Charles XII. every thing appears very different from our manners and usages, in which, perhaps, there is too much effeminacy; and on this very account we are so desirous of being acquainted with the history of those two celebrated personages.

The Czarina had remained at Schwerin indisposed, being far advanced in her pregnancy; however, she was ^{Jan. 14,} no sooner able to travel, than she proceeded ^{1717.} to Holland after the Czar. She was taken in labour at Wesel, where she was delivered of a prince, who died the next day. With us, it is not customary for a woman to travel immediately after her lying-in; but the Czarina within ten days reached Amsterdam: she was for seeing the hut at Sardam, where the Czar had worked with his own hands. They both went without any state, attended only by two servants, and dined with a rich ship-builder, named Kalf, and the first man who had traded to Petersburgh. His son was just returned from France, and Peter was going thither. The Czarina and he were highly entertained with the following adventure of that young man, which I relate only, as shewing manners very different from ours.

This son of the ship-carpenter, Kalf, had been sent to Paris by his father to learn French; and as the old man was for having his son live in a genteel manner, he ordered him to lay aside his coarse and plain Sardam garb, and make a figure at Paris more suitable to his fortune than his education; secure in the knowledge he had of the young man, that this change would not corrupt his frugality nor the goodness of his disposition.

The Sardam traveller took the name of Du Veau, which is the French word for Kalf, and living with some splendor soon contracted acquaintance. At Paris nothing is more common than to prostitute the title of Marquis and Count to those who have not a single lordship, and are scarcely so much as gentlemen. This ridiculous practice has been always tolerated by the government; such confusion of ranks and abasement of the nobility being found an effectual preservative against

civil wars, formerly so frequent. The title of High and Mighty Lord has been assumed by ennobled upstarts; by commoners, after purchasing offices at a high rate; in a word, the names of Marquis without a marquisate, of Count without a county, like those of Knight without an order, or Abbé without an abbey, are of no consequence to a nation.

The friends and domestics of young Kalf always called him the Count Du Veau: he supped at the Princess's, and played at the Dutchess de Berry's: few strangers were more caressed. A young Marquis, who had made one in all his parties of pleasure, promised he would come and see him at Sardam, and did so. On entering the village and enquiring for Count Kalf's house, he was shewn into a ship-builder's yard, where he found the young man clothed like a plain Dutch seaman, with his axe in his hand, giving orders to his father's workmen. Kalf received his guest with his original simplicity, which he had reassumed, and never departed from. A judicious reader will pardon this little digression, as a censure on vanity, and a panegyric on virtue.

The Czar remained three months in Holland, and during his stay many things passed more important than Mr. Kalf's adventure. The Hague, ever since the peace of Nimeguen, Ryswick, and Utrecht, had been reputed the center of the negotiations of Europe. This little town, or rather village, the most agreeable of any in the North, was chiefly inhabited by Ministers from the different Courts, and by travellers resorting thither to improve themselves in this school of politics. A great revolution in Europe was at that time projecting. The Czar, advised of the beginnings of these disputes, prolonged his intended stay in the Low Countries, that he might be nearer at hand, to see at once what intrigues were carrying on in the South and in the North, and to prepare for the part it would be right for him to act.

C H A P. VIII.

Continuation of Peter the Great's Travels. Goertz's Conspiracy. Peter's Reception in France.

PETER perceived how jealous his allies were become of his power, and that friends are very often more troublesome than enemies.

Mecklenburg was one of the principal causes of those disputes which are seldom to be avoided between neighbouring princes, in dividing their conquests. Peter was not willing that the Danes should take Wismar for themselves, and much less that they should demolish its fortifications; yet they had done both.

The Duke of Mecklenburg, to whom he had married his niece, was openly protected by him against the nobility of the country, who on the other hand found a patron in the King of England. Peter also began to be very much displeased with the King of Poland, or rather with his first Minister Count Fleming, who was for throwing off the yoke of dependency which had been imposed by acts of benevolence and by force.

The courts of England, Poland, Denmark, Holstein, Mecklenburg, and Brandenburg, were distracted with intrigues and cabals.

At the close of the year 1716, and the beginning of 1717, Goertz, who, according to Bassewitz's Memoirs, was weary of the bare name of Counsellor of Holstein, and of being only a clandestine Plenipotentiary of Charles XII. had been the first mover of all these intrigues; and he now resolved to make use of them for raising commotions in Europe. His scheme was to reconcile Charles XII. and the Czar, not so much to put an end to their war, as to unite them, with a view of replacing Stanislaus on the throne of Poland, and dispossessing the King of England, George I. of Bremen and Verden, and even driving him from the British throne,

throne, which would disable him from ever aggrandizing himself with the spoils of the King of Sweden.

There was at the same time a Minister of his temper, whose views were to overthrow both England and France. This was Cardinal Alberoni, whose sway in Spain exceeded that of Goertz in Sweden; bold and enterprizing as himself, but with much more power, being at the head of an opulent kingdom, and not reduced to the necessity of paying his creatures in copper.

Goertz, from the shores of the Baltic, soon contrived to form a connexion with the court of Madrid: both Alberoni and he diligently corresponded with all the English fugitives who declared for the Stuart family. Goertz posted into all the countries where he could meet with any of King George's enemies, as Germany, Holland, Flanders, Lorrain, and, towards the close of the year 1716, to Paris. Cardinal Alberoni began with sending him, even to Paris, a million of French livres, that he might begin *to set fire to the train*: this was Alberoni's expression.

Goertz was for having Charles make considerable concessions to Peter, and indemnify himself on his enemies, that he might have his hands free to attempt a descent in Scotland, whilst the partizans of the Stuarts, after so many fruitless insurrections, should take up arms in England. In order to accomplish these projects, it was requisite that the King of England should be deprived of his greatest support, and this support was the Regent of France. It was something extraordinary that France should be united with a King of England against a grandson of Louis XIV. whom, at such an immense expence and effusion of blood, it had placed on the throne of Spain against the combination of so many powerful enemies; but, at that time, every thing was out of its natural course, and the interest of the Regent was not that of the kingdom. Alberoni was already machinating a conspiracy in France against the Regent. The plan of this vast enterprize was no sooner formed, than the foundations for conducting it were laid. Goertz being first in the secret, was to go into Italy, in disguise,

in order to confer with the Pretender in the neighbourhood of Rome; thence he was to hasten back to the Hague, to see the Czar, and he was to put the finishing hand to all with his master, the King of Sweden.

The writer of this History is well informed of what he asserts, Goertz having made him an offer of accompanying him in his journies; and though at that time very young, he was one of the first who knew any thing of these negotiations.

Goertz had returned to Holland, at the end of the year 1716, with bills of exchange from Alberoni, and the credentials of a Plenipotentiary from Charles. It is very certain, that the Pretender's party was to have risen, on Charles's making a descent from Norway into the North of Scotland. This Prince, who had not been able to preserve his dominions on the Continent, was going to invade and disturb those of another: and thus, after the prison of Demirtash and the ashes of Stralsund, he would crown the son of James II. at London, in the same manner as he had crowned Stanislaus at Warsaw.

The Czar, who was in some measure acquainted with the Swedish Minister's projects, was waiting the disclosure of them without concerning himself in any: indeed, he was not let into all: he loved great and extraordinary things no less than Charles XII. Goertz, or Alberoni; but he loved them as a founder of a state, as a legislator, and as a sound politician. And perhaps Alberoni, Goertz, and Charles himself, were rather turbulent persons attempting high things, than men of great depth acting on proper measures; or perhaps the charge of temerity may, after all, be wholly owing to their ill success.

When Goertz was at the Hague, the Czar did not see him, as that would have given too much umbrage to the States-General, with whom he was in friendship, and who at the same time were in the interest of the King of England. His Ministers indeed saw Goertz, but it was only in secret, and with the strictest precautions; their orders being to hear all, and give hopes, but not to involve him in any engagement. People of penetration, however,

ever, perceived by his inactivity at a time when his fleet and that of Denmark might easily have made a landing in Schonen; by his coldness towards his allies; by the complaints which transpired from their courts; and even by his journey; that a great change in affairs was in agitation, and would soon break out.

In the month of January, 1717, a Swedish packet-boat bound for Holland with letters, having been driven into a port of Norway by distress of weather, the letters were opened, and in those of Goertz and some other Ministers sufficient indications were discovered of the projected revolution. The court of Denmark, without delay, communicated this intelligence to the King of England, and Gillenburg, the Swedish Minister at London, being immediately put under arrest, a part of his correspondence with the Jacobites was found among his papers.

King George immediately wrote over to Holland, requiring that, pursuant to the treaties between England and the States-General, for their mutual security, Baron Goertz might be put under arrest. This Minister, who every where made himself creatures, received notice of the order, and had already reached Arnheim on the frontiers; but the officers and guards sent after him being more expeditious than is usual in that country, he was apprehended, his papers seized, and his person treated with some indignity. Secretary Stamke, the very person who had counterfeited the Duke of Holstein's signature in the affair of Tonningen, was used still worse: in a word, Count Gillenburg, the Swedish Envoy in England, and Baron Goertz, Plenipotentiary of Charles XII. were examined, one at London, the other at Arnheim, like two criminals. All the public Ministers exclaimed against this procedure, as a violation of the law of nations.

This law, which is much oftener appealed to than well understood, and the extent and limits of which have never been fixed, has in all ages suffered many violations. Several Ministers have been driven from the courts where they resided; but to examine Foreign

Ministers as subjects of the country, was altogether unprecedented. The court of London and the States, seeing the danger which threatened the House of Hanover, overlooked forms and rules; though, on the discovery of the danger, it could not be said any longer to subsist, at least not in the present juncture.

The historian Norberg must either have been strangely misinformed, or little acquainted with men and affairs, or extremely blinded by partiality, or, at least, restrained by his court, that he should endeavour to make the world believe the King of Sweden had not gone very deep into this conspiracy.

The affronts offered to his Ministers determined him to use every means for dethroning the King of England. Once in his life, however, he was reduced to dissimulation; disowning to the Regent of France, who gave him a subsidy, and to the States, with whom he was for preserving a good understanding, the proceedings of those Ministers: with King George, he did not condescend to such satisfaction. Göertz and Gillenburg were detained near six months; and this long outrage confirmed him in all his revengeful projects.

Amidst all these alarms and jealousies, Peter, avoiding all engagements, waiting the result of time, and having put his vast dominions in such order as to have nothing to fear at home or abroad, resolved to visit France, though being ignorant of the language, he must necessarily lose many advantages of such a journey; but he thought there was much to see, and he was for informing himself on the spot on what terms the Regent of France was with England, and whether that Prince was well settled in his power.

Peter the Great was received in France as he ought to have been. Marshal Tesse, with a great number of the nobility, a squadron of the guards, and the King's coaches, were immediately sent to meet him; but, according to custom, he had travelled at such a rate as to reach Gournay, when the equipages had got no farther than Elbeuf. On the road all the honours were paid to him that he was willing to accept. He was first
received

received at the Louvre, where the great apartment was prepared for himself, and others for his retinue, the Princes Kourakin and Dolgorouki, the Vice-chancellor Baron Shaffiroff, and the Ambassador Tolstoy, who had been so injuriously treated in Turkey. All this court was to be magnificently lodged and entertained; but Peter, being come to see what might be of use to him, and not to pass through vain ceremonies, so repugnant to his simplicity, and which served only to waste his time, went, that very evening, and lodged at the other end of the town, in the Hôtel de Lefdiguiere, belonging to Marshal Villeroy, where he was feasted as at the Louvre. The next day, the Regent paid him a visit at this hotel; the day following the King, then a child, was brought to him, led by the Marshal May 8, 1717.
Villeroy, his governor, and whose father had been governor to Louis XIV. The Czar was artfully saved the trouble of returning the royal visit till two days after, when receiving the compliments of the City of Paris, in the evening he paid his visit to the King: the household troops were under arms, and the young Prince was brought to the Czar's coach. Peter, no less uneasy than surprised at the crowd which thronged about the infant monarch, took him and carried him some time in his arms.

Some Ministers, of more subtlety than judgment, have asserted, that Marshal Villeroy, being desirous of giving the precedence to the King of France, the Emperor of Russia made use of this stratagem to disappoint the ceremonial, by an air of sensibility and affection; a supposition absolutely false: besides, it was inconsistent with French politeness, and the regard due to Peter the Great, to intermix with the honours paid to him any subject of disgust. The ceremonial consisted in doing for a great monarch, and a great man, whatever he himself could have desired, had he regarded such punctilios. The journies of the Emperors Charles IV. Sigismund, and Charles V. into France, were very far from being comparable in celebrity to the stay which Peter the Great made there: it was only political inter-

rests which drew those Princes into France, and they did not come at a time when the arts, by the perfection they are now brought to, could make a memorable epocha of their journey: but when Peter the Great went to dine with the Duke d'Antin at the palace of Petitbourg, three leagues from Paris, and after the entertainment perceived that his picture, newly drawn, had been suddenly put up in the dining-room, he was convinced that the French knew how to receive so noble a guest better than any other people in the world.

He was still more surprised, when, going to see medals struck in that long gallery of the Louvre where all the King's artists have such elegant apartments, a medal, on being struck, fell on the floor; and the Czar, eagerly stooping to take it up, found it to be a medal of himself, and on the reverse a Fame, placing one foot upon the globe, with these words of Virgil, so suitable to Peter the Great, *Vires acquirit eundo*: a delicate and noble allusion, and equally adapted to his travels and reputation. The Russian monarch and all his attendants were presented with some of these medals in gold. On his visiting the artists, all the finest pieces were laid at his feet, with an humble request that he would deign to accept of them; and when he went to see the tapestry of the Gobelines, the carpets of the Savonnerie, the working-rooms of the King's sculptors, painters, goldsmiths, and mathematical instrument-makers, whatever seemed particularly to engage his eye, was offered to him in the King's name.

Peter being a mechanic, an artist, and a geometrician, went to the Academy of Sciences, which, in honour to him, displayed its most striking rarities; but he was himself the greatest rarity. He corrected, with his own hand, several geographical errors in the maps there shewn him of his dominions, and especially those of the Caspian Sea. In short, he was pleased to become a Member of the Academy, and afterwards kept up a constant correspondence of experiments and discoveries with that illustrious body. To find such travellers, we must ascend to the times of Pythagoras and Anaxagoras;

carlis; and even they did not quit an empire for the sake of acquiring knowledge.

The reader, it is presumed, will not be displeased with the mention of the Czar's rapture at seeing the tomb of Cardinal Richelieu: the beauty of that master-piece of sculpture scarcely attracted his eye; his admiration was engrossed by the image of a Minister who had made himself famous throughout Europe by the disturbances he raised, and who had restored to France that glory which it had lost after the death of Henry IV. It is well known that he embraced the statue with this exclamation, "Thou great man, I would have given thee one-half of my dominions to learn of thee to govern the other!" Before he quitted Paris, he intimated that he would willingly see the celebrated Madame de Maintenon, whom he knew to be the real widow of Louis XIV. and who was now drawing near to her end. The kind of similarity between the marriage of Louis XIV. and his, raised an eager curiosity in him: but between the King of France and him there was this difference; the latter had publicly espoused a heroine, and Louis only an agreeable wife, and that in private. In this journey he did not take the Czarina with him, fearing the incumbrances of ceremony, and the curiosity of a court little qualified to estimate the merit of a woman, who, from the borders of the Pruth to those of Finland, had, at her husband's side, braved death both by sea and land.

C H A P. IX.

The Czar returns to his Dominions. His Politics and Occupations.

A Manœuvre of the Sorbonne, when the Czar went to see Cardinal Richelieu's mausoleum, ought not to be omitted here.

Several Doctors of the Sorbonne were desirous of the

the glory of reuniting the Greek and Latin Churches. They who are acquainted with antiquity must know, that Christianity was brought into the West by the Asiatic Greeks; that it is of Eastern origin; that the first Councils, the first liturgies, the first rites, all came from the East; that there is not so much as one single term of dignity and office which is not Greek, and does not still manifest the source whence we derive our religion. When the Roman Empire came to be divided, it was natural to expect, that, sooner or later, there would be two Religions, as there were two Empires; and that a like schism would arise between the Christians of the East and West, as between the Turks and Persians.

It was this schism that some Doctors of the University of Paris thought to extinguish at once, by presenting a memorial to Peter the Great. Neither Pope Leo IX. nor his successors had been able to bring it about by Legates, Councils, or even by money. These Doctors might have known, that Peter the Great, being the head of his Church, would be little inclined to acknowledge the Pope. In vain did they set forth, in their memorial, the liberties of the Gallican Church, which the Czar never troubled himself about; in vain did they assert, that Popes were subject to Councils, and that a decree of the supreme Pontiff is not a rule of faith. Their memorial served only to give great offence to the Court of Rome, without pleasing either the Emperor of Russia or his Church.

There were some political objects in this plan of reunion which they did not understand, and some points of controversy which they said they understood, and which each party explained according to their humour. The question was about the Holy Ghost, who, according to the Latins, proceeds from the Father and the Son; but, according to the present doctrine of the Greek Church, proceeds from the Father, through the Son, after having, for a long time, proceeded from the Father only. They quoted St. Epiphanius, who says, "That the Holy Ghost is neither the Son's brother, nor the Father's grandson."

But

But the Czar, at his departure from Paris, had other business than to explain passages from St. Epiphanius; however, he received the memorial of the Sorbonne Doctors with great kindness. They also wrote to some Russian Bishops, who returned a polite answer; but the greater number received the proposal with indignation.

It was to dissipate the apprehensions of this reunion, that some time after he instituted a farcical entertainment called *The Conclave*. This was in 1718, when he had expelled the Jesuits from his dominions.

There was at his Court an old buffoon, named Jotoff, who had taught him to write, and by this service imagined he deserved the highest dignities. Peter, who sometimes enlivened the cares and vexations of Government by diversions suited to a people whom he had not as yet thoroughly civilized, promised his writing-master, that he would confer on him one of the most eminent dignities in the known world: he created him *Knes Papa*, with a salary of 2000 rubles, and a house at Petersburg, in the Tartar quarter. Jotoff was installed with great ceremony by buffoons; four fellows who stammered, were appointed to harangue him on his exaltation; he created Cardinals, and marched in procession at the head of them. Every member of this sacred college got drunk with brandy. After Jotoff's death, an officer, named Butterlin, was created Pope. Moscow and Petersburg have three times seen the renewal of this ludicrous ceremony, which appeared to have no sort of meaning, while in reality it confirmed the people in their aversion to a Church that pretended to a supreme power, and the head of which had anathematized so many Sovereigns. Thus the Czar, by way of jest, revenged the cause of twenty Emperors of Germany, ten Kings of France, and many other Princes. This was all the advantage which accrued to the Sorbonne from its chimerical project of uniting the Greek and Latin Churches.

The Czar's journey into France proved much more beneficial by his connexion with that commercial kingdom,

dom, the inhabitants of which are so industrious, than by the projected reunion of two rival Churches, of which, one will always maintain its ancient independency, and the other will not depart from its newly-acquired superiority.

Peter carried back with him several French artists, in the same manner as he had before taken some from England; for all the nations he visited prided themselves in seconding his design of transporting the arts into a new country, and in concurring to this kind of creation.

He drew up at that time the heads of a treaty of commerce with France, and on his return to Holland he put it into the hands of his Ministers at that Court. It was the fifteenth of August, 1717, before it was signed by Chateauneuf, the French Ambassador at the Hague. This treaty, besides the commerce, related also to the peace of the North. The King of France and the Elector of Brandenburg were nominated as mediators in his draught of it, and they assented to that title. This was a sufficient indication to the King of England, that the Czar was not pleased with him; and at the same time it elevated Goertz's hopes to the highest pitch, who now exerted himself to the utmost in reconciling Peter and Charles, raising up enemies to George, and lending a hand to Cardinal Alberoni, from one end of Europe to the other. Baron Goertz now publickly visited the Czar's Ministers at the Hague, and notified to them, that he had full power to conclude a peace on the part of Sweden.

The Czar suffered Goertz to prepare all his batteries, without stirring a finger himself; ready to make peace with the King of Sweden, and no less to continue the war; still connected with Denmark, Poland, Prussia, and even, in appearance, with the Elector of Hanover.

It appears evidently, that he had no other fixed design than to take advantage of conjunctures. His principal object was to complete all his new establishments: as to the negotiations and interests of Princes, their leagues, their friendships, their mistrusts, their enmities, he knew them
liable

liable to change almost every year ; and that often not a single trace remains of so many political efforts. One single manufacture well settled is sometimes of greater benefit to the State than twenty treaties.

Peter having rejoined his wife, who was waiting for him in Holland, continued his travels with her. They crossed Westphalia, and arrived at Berlin, without any state. The new King of Prussia was as much averse to the vanities of ceremony and magnificence as the Russian Monarch. A King who never sat in any thing but a wooden arm-chair, who dressed like a common soldier, and denied himself all the delicacies of the table, and all the conveniencies of life, might have served as a document to the etiquette of Vienna and Spain, the punctilio of Italy, and the fondness for luxury that prevailed in France.

The Czar and Czarina lived in as plain and sparing a manner as the King of Prussia ; and if Charles XII. had been with them, four crowned heads would have been seen together with less appearance of ceremony about them than a German Bishop or a Roman Cardinal : never had luxury and effeminacy been opposed by such noble examples.

It is very certain, that among us a private person would acquire consequence, and be considered as an extraordinary man, if once in his life, out of curiosity, he was to travel only the fifth part so far as Peter did for the advantage of his dominions. From Berlin he went with his wife to Dantzick ; at Mittau, he protected the Dutchess of Courland, his niece, now a widow, and visited all his conquests ; at Petersburg he issued new regulations, and from thence proceeded to Moscow, where he gave orders for rebuilding all the ruinous houses of private persons : thence he hastened to Czarisin on the Wolga, to check the incursions of the Cuban Tartars : he threw up lines from the Wolga to the Tanais, and erected forts at certain distances from one river to another. Amidst these various occupations he caused his Military Code to be printed, and established a commission for enquiring into the conduct of his Ministers, and for rectifying

rectifying abuses in the finances. Some of the delinquents he pardoned, punishing others: Prince Menzikoff himself was amongst those who stood in need of his clemency. But a more rigorous sentence which he thought it his duty to pronounce against his own son, filled a glorious life with affliction.

C H A P. X.

Condemnation of Prince Alexis-Petrowitz.

PETER the Great had, in 1689, at the age of seventeen years, married Eudoxia-Theodora, or Theodorouna Lapoukin. As she had been brought up in all the prejudices of her country, and not shaken them off, in imitation of her husband, the greatest opposition he met with in his design of creating an empire and forming men came from his wife. She was influenced by that superstition which is so often to be met with in her sex. Every useful innovation appeared to her as a sacrilege, and all the foreigners employed by the Czar in the prosecution of his great designs, she considered as corruptors.

The openness of her complaints encouraged the factions, and the partizans of the former customs; and her behaviour in other respects did not make amends for faults of so heavy a nature; so that in 1696, the Czar found himself obliged to repudiate her, and to confine her in a convent at Sufdal, where she was made to take the veil, under the name of Helen.

The son of whom she was delivered in 1690, unfortunately brought into the world with him his mother's disposition, which gathered strength by the first elements of his education. My papers tell me, that he was intrusted to superstitious persons, who utterly vitiated his mind. It was to no purpose they attempted to correct these first impressions, by placing foreign preceptors about him; the very idea of their being foreigners made him hate them. He was not born without capa-

tity; he spoke and wrote German very well; he could draw, and even learnt a little of the mathematics; but the same papers, which have been entrusted to me, affirm that the reading of ecclesiastical books was the ruin of him. Those books appeared to Alexis, as so many execrations of all his father was doing. There were several priests at the head of the malecontents, and it was by priests that he suffered himself to be governed.

They persuaded him, that the whole nation viewed his enterprizes with horror; that from the frequent indispositions of the Czar, it might be concluded he was not long-lived; that the best and only way for his son to please the people, was to shew his aversion for novelties. These murmurs and advices did not rise to an open faction, much less to a conspiracy; yet every thing seemed to have that tendency, and the minds of the public were inflamed.

But what exasperated the young Prince most of all, was his father's marriage with Catharine in 1707, and the fertility of that marriage. Peter tried all possible means to reclaim him; he even put him at the head of the regency for a twelvemonth; he sent him to travel; and in 1711, after the campaign of the Pruth, he married him to the Princess of Brunswick, as we have before related. This proved a very unhappy match; for Alexis, who was in the twenty-third year of his age, gave himself up to all the debaucheries of youth, and to the stupidity of the ancient customs, to which he was so attached; whilst his insulted wife, destitute of all comfort, and even necessities, lingered in affliction, till it put an end to her life, the first of November, 1715.

This Princess left a son, of whom she had been lately delivered, and who naturally in time was entitled to succeed to the empire. Peter with great grief perceived that, on his decease, all his labours would be destroyed by his very issue. After the death of the Princess, he wrote to his son a letter, equally pathetic and menacing: it concluded with these words: "I will still wait a little time, to see if you will amend; if not, know that I will deprive

“ you of the succession, upon the same principles as a
 “ useless limb is cut off. Do not imagine I am only
 “ frightening you, nor would I have you rely on the
 “ title of being my eldest son; for since I do not spare
 “ my own life, for the good of my country and the
 “ prosperity of my people, why should I spare yours?
 “ I shall rather commit them to a stranger, than to my
 “ own undeserving offspring.”

This letter well became a father, and still more a legislator: it also may serve to shew that the order of succession has not been invariably established in Russia, as in other monarchies, where parents, by the fundamental law, cannot exclude their sons; and the Czar conceived, that he had more particularly the power of disposing of an empire which he himself had founded.

At this very juncture, the Empress Catharine was brought-to-bed of a Prince, who died in 1719. Whether the above letter disheartened Alexis, or whether it was imprudence or bad advice, he wrote to his father, that he renounced the crown, and all hopes of reigning.
 “ I call God to witness, said he, and I swear upon my
 “ soul, that I will never claim the succession: I commit
 “ my children into your hands, and for myself, desire
 “ only a subsistence during life.”

His father wrote to him a second time. “ I observe,
 “ says he, that all you speak of in your letter is the
 “ succession, as if I stood in need of your consent. I
 “ have represented to you, what grief your behaviour
 “ has given me for so many years, and not a word do
 “ you say of it; the exhortations of a father make no
 “ impression on you. I have brought myself to write to
 “ you once more; but for the last time. If you despise
 “ my counsels now I am living, what regard will you
 “ pay to them after my death? Though you may now
 “ mean not to violate your promises, yet those long
 “ beards will be able to wind you as they please, and in-
 “ force you to break your word. These people wholly
 “ rely on you. You have no gratitude to him who
 “ gave you life. Since you have been of proper age,
 “ did you ever assist him in his labours? Don’t you
 “ find

“ find fault with, don’t you detest every thing I do for
 “ the good of my people? I have all the reason in the
 “ world to believe, that if you survive me, you will
 “ overthrow all that I have been doing. Amend;
 “ make yourself worthy of the succession, or turn monk.
 “ Let me have your answer either in writing or per-
 “ sonally, or I will treat you as a malefactor.”

This letter was harsh, but the Prince might easily have answered, that he would alter his behaviour; but he, in a few lines contents himself with telling his father that he would turn monk.

This resolution did not appear natural; and it seems strange that the Czar, going to travel, should leave behind him a son so obstinate: but this very journey proves that the Czar was in no manner of apprehension of a conspiracy from his son.

He went to see him before he set out for Germany and France. The Prince being ill, or feigning to be so, received him in bed, and confirmed to him, by the most solemn oaths, that he would retire into a convent. The Czar gave him six months for deliberation, and set out with his consort.

He had scarcely reached Copenhagen, when he received advice (which was no more than he might expect) that Alexis admitted into his presence only evil-minded persons, who humoured his discontent: on this the Czar wrote to him, that he must choose the convent or the throne; and, if he valued the succession, to come to him at Copenhagen.

The Prince’s confidants instilled into him a suspicion, that it would be dangerous for him to put himself into the hands of a provoked father and a mother-in-law, without so much as one friend to advise with. He therefore feigned as if he was going to wait on his father at Copenhagen, but he took the road to Vienna, and threw himself on the Emperor Charles the Sixth, his brother-in-law, thinking to continue at his court till the Czar’s death.

This was an adventure somewhat similar to that of Louis XI. who, whilst he was Dauphin, withdrew from

the court of Charles VII. his father, to the Duke of Burgundy. Louis was indeed much more culpable than the Czarowitz, by marrying in direct opposition to his father, raising troops, and seeking refuge with a Prince who was Charles the VIIth's natural enemy, and never returning to court, notwithstanding his father's repeated entreaties.

Alexis, on the contrary, had married purely in obedience to the Czar's order, and had not revolted or raised troops; neither indeed had he withdrawn to a Prince in any wise his father's enemy; and on the first letter he received from his father, he went and threw himself at his feet. For Peter, on receiving advice that his son had been at Vienna, and from thence had removed to Naples, then belonging to the Emperor Charles VI. dispatched Captain Romanzoff of the guards, and Mr. Tolstoy, a privy-counsellor, with a letter of his own writing, dated from Spa, the 21st of July, N. S. 1717. They found the Prince at Naples, in the castle of St. Elmo, and delivered him the letter, which was as follows:

" I now write to you, and for the last time, to let you know, that you had best comply with my will, which Tolstoy and Romanzoff will make known to you. If you obey me, I assure you, and promise before God, that I will not punish you; so far from it, that if you return, I will love you better than ever. But if you do not, by virtue of the power I have received from God, as your father, I give you my eternal curse; and as your sovereign, I assure you, I shall find ways to punish you; in which I hope God will assist me, by taking my cause, which is a just one, in hand.

" Remember farther, that I never used compulsion with you. Was I under any obligation to leave you to your own option? Had I been for forcing you, was not the power in my hand? I had only to speak the word, and I should have been obeyed."

The Viceroy of Naples easily prevailed upon Alexis to return to his father, which to me seems an incontestible proof

proof that the Emperor of Germany would enter into no exceptionable engagement with this young Prince. Alexis had brought his mistress Aphrosina with him, and carried her back.

In going to Vienna and Naples, instead of Copenhagen, he might be considered as an ill-advised young man. Had this been his only fault, as common to so many young persons, it was pardonable. His father called God to witness, that he would not only pardon, but would love him better than ever. On this assurance, Alexis set out; but from the information of the two envoys who conducted him back, and by the Czar's own letter, it appears that the father required of his son to declare his advisers, and that he should execute his path of renouncing the succession.

It may seem difficult to reconcile this disinheritation with the other oath in the Czar's letter, of loving his son more than ever. Perhaps the father, in the conflict between paternal affection and reasons of state, meant only to love his son as a recluse: perhaps he might still hope to reclaim him; and by bringing him to a due sense of the loss of a crown, render him worthy of the succession. In such critical, such painful junctures, it may easily be thought that the hearts of the father and son were at first too much agitated to rest in any fixed determination.

On the 13th of February, 1717, N. S. the Prince reached Moscow, where the Czar then was. That very day he went and paid his duty to his father, and was very long in private with him. A report immediately was spread through the city, of a reconciliation between the father and son, and that every thing was forgot; but the very next day the regiments of guards were ordered under arms, and the great bell of Moscow tolled. The Boyards and Privy-counsellors were summoned to the castle; the Bishops, the Archimandrites, and two of the religious of the order of St. Basil, professors of divinity, assembled at the cathedral. Alexis was carried into the castle before his father, without a sword, and as a prisoner: he immediately prostrated

himself, and with a flood of tears delivered to his father a writing, in which he acknowledged his crimes, declared himself unworthy of the succession, and all he asked was his life. The Czar raising him up, led him to a closet, where he put several questions to him, declaring, that if he concealed any thing relating to his escape, his head should answer for it. Afterwards the Prince was brought back into the council-chamber, where the Czar's declaration, which had been drawn up beforehand, was publicly read.

In this piece Peter reproached his son with the several particulars we have before specified; such as the little pains he had taken to improve himself, his intimacy with the sticklers for ancient customs, and his misbehaviour towards his wife. "He has," says he, "violated conjugal faith, taking up with a low-born wench, whilst his wife was living." It is true, that Peter had repudiated his wife to make way for a captive; but this captive was a person of very extraordinary merit, and he had very great cause to be displeased with his wife, who was his subject; whereas Alexis had slighted his wife for an obscure girl, whose only merit was her beauty. Hitherto we meet with only faults of youth, which a father should reprove, and may pardon.

He afterwards reproaches him with going to Vienna, and putting himself under the Emperor's protection. He says, that Alexis had slandered his father, by intimating to the Emperor Charles VI. that he was persecuted, and that a longer stay in Muscovy was dangerous, unless he renounced the succession; nay, that he went so far as to desire the Emperor openly to defend him by force of arms.

It is difficult to conceive how the Emperor, on such an account, could have made war with the Czar, and how between an incensed father and a refractory son he could interpose in any other manner than by good offices. Accordingly, Charles VI. had only entertained the Prince, and on the Czar's demanding him, he was sent back.

Peter

Peter, in this tremendous piece, adds, that Alexis had made the Emperor believe that his life was not safe, if he returned into Russia. And indeed to condemn him to death on his return, and especially after a promise of pardon and greater affection, was, in some measure, a justification of Alexis's complaints: but we shall see what afterwards induced the Czar to pass such a memorable sentence. In a word, in this great assembly, an absolute sovereign was seen pleading against his son.

"Such," says he, "was the manner in which our son returned: and though his flight and his calumnies deserved death, yet parental affection forgives his crimes: but considering his unworthiness and immorality, we cannot in conscience leave him the succession to the empire; it being too manifest, that by his ill conduct the glory of the nation would be subverted, so as to occasion the loss of all the provinces recovered by our arms. Our subjects would be extremely to be pitied; since, leaving them under such a successor, would be plunging them into a condition much worse than any they have ever experienced.

"Accordingly by our paternal power, in virtue of which, according to the laws of our empire, every private subject of ours can at pleasure disinherit a son, and pursuant to our prerogative as sovereign, and in regard to the welfare of our dominions, we for ever deprive our said son Alexis of succeeding after us to the throne of Russia, on account of his crimes and unworthiness; even though not a single person of our family should exist at the time of our decease.

"And we constitute, appoint, and declare, in the want of a more aged successor, our second son * Peter, young as he is, successor to the said throne after us.

"Accursed be our abovementioned son Alexis, if ever, at any time, he shall claim the said succession, or attempt to procure it.

"We also require our faithful subjects, ecclesi-

* Son of the Empress Catharine; but who died 15 Apr. 1719.

“astics or seculars, as well as every other state, and the whole nation, that pursuant to this appointment, and our will, they acknowledge and consider our said son Peter, nominated by us to the succession, as our lawful successor; and that, conformably to this present ordinance, they confirm the whole by oath at the altar, on the holy gospels, and kissing the cross.

“And all those who shall, at any time whatever, oppose this our will; and who, from the date hereof, shall dare to consider our son Alexis as successor, or assist him to that end; we declare them traitors to us and their country; and we have ordered these presents to be every where published, that no person may plead ignorance. Given at Moscow, the 13th of February, N. S. 1718. Signed with our hand, and sealed with our seal.”

These instruments were certainly got in readiness, or at least drawn up with extreme dispatch, Prince Alexis not returning till the 13th, and his disinheritation in favour of Catharine's son being dated the 14th.

The Prince, on his side, signed a renunciation to the succession. “I acknowledge, says he, this exclusion to be just; I have deserved it by my unworthiness; and I swear, by the sacred and almighty Trinity, to submit myself in every thing to my father's will.”

These instruments being signed, the Czar proceeded to the cathedral, where they went through a second reading, and all the ecclesiastics testified their approbation, by signing at the bottom of another copy. Never was Prince disinherited in so authentic a manner. There are many States where such an act would be of no validity; but in Russia, as among the ancient Romans, every father could disinherit his son; and this is much stronger in a sovereign than in a subject, and especially in such a sovereign as Peter.

There was reason, however, to fear that those very persons who had spirited up the Prince against his father, and had advised his elopement, might one day endeavour to overthrow a renunciation imposed by force, and to restore to the eldest son the crown, which had been injuriously transferred to the youngest, who also was

by a second venter: in such a case, the certain consequences would be a civil war, and the inevitable destruction of all Peter's great and useful establishments. The question lay between the welfare of near eighteen millions of men, the number which Russia was then judged to contain, and one single person, who was incapable of governing. It being therefore of the highest importance to know the disaffected, the Czar again threatened his son with capital punishment, should he conceal any thing from him. Thus the Prince underwent a second interrogation by his father, and afterwards by commissioners.

What served to hasten his condemnation, was a letter from Mr. Beyer, the Emperor's Resident at Petersburg, written after the Prince's elopement. The substance of this letter was, that the Russian army in Mecklenburgh had mutinied; that several officers talked of sending the new Czarina and her son to the prison where the repudiated Czarina was confined, and of placing Alexis on the throne, when it should be known where he was. There had been indeed a sedition in that army of the Czar's, but it was soon suppressed, and nothing farther appeared. Alexis could never have encouraged such reports; a foreigner spoke of them as a piece of news; the letter was not directed to Prince Alexis, he had only a copy of it that had been sent to him from Vienna.

A charge much heavier than this, was a rough draught, in his own hand of a letter written from Vienna to the Senators and Archbishops of Russia, and the terms of it were strong: "The injuries I have so long and undeservedly suffered, have at length compelled me to quit my country. It was very narrowly I escaped being shut up in a convent. They who have confined my mother, were about using me in the same manner. I am under the protection of a great Prince. I intreat you not to forsake me at present." The words *at present*, which might have been looked on as seditious, were drawn through with a pen, and afterwards replaced with his own hand; then again effaced; which shewed

shewed a young man under perturbation, giving himself up to his resentment one minute, and repenting of it the next. Only the rough draught of these letters was found, for they never came to hand, being stopped by the court of Vienna; another, no inconsiderable proof, that this court was not for quarrelling with that of Russia, and supporting the son against the father with an armed force.

Several witnesses were confronted with the Prince. One of them, named Afanassief, maintained that he had formerly heard him say, "I will tell the Bishops something, which they will communicate to the Priests, and the Priests to their Parishioners, and they will place me on the throne, even though it were against my will."

His own mistress, Aphrosina, was one of the evidences against him. None of the accusations were very precise. Instead of a digested plan, a connected intrigue, a conspiracy, or an association, and still less any preparatives, here was only a discontented, unruly son, complaining of his father, flying from his presence, and even wishing for his death: but this son was heir to the greatest monarchy of our hemisphere; and in his situation no fault could be trifling.

Besides the charge brought against him by his mistress, he was farther accused with relation to the late Czarina his mother, and the Princess Mary his sister. He was charged with having consulted his mother about his elopement, and mentioning it to his sister. A Bishop of Rostou, who was in the confidence of all three, being apprehended, deposed, that those two Princesses, who were confined in a convent, had intimated some hopes of a change which would set them at liberty; and it was at their advice and instances, that the Prince had fled into Germany, instead of waiting on his father at Copenhagen. Their resentment being natural, was the more dangerous; and as to the Bishop, the reader will know more of him at the end of this chapter.

Alexis, at first, denied several facts of this nature, and by his very denials exposed himself the more to a capital

capital sentence, with which his father had threatened him, if he did not make a general and sincere confession.

At length he acknowledged that some disrespectful words against his father, with which he was charged, had escaped him; but in excuse pleaded drunkenness.

The Czar himself drew up fresh interrogatory articles, the fourth of which was conceived in these words:

“When you learnt by Beyer’s letter, that there was a revolt in the Mecklenburgh army, you was glad of it: I apprehend you had some view, and that you would have declared for the rebels even in my life-time?”

This was interrogating the Prince on his secret sentiments, which, if they may be owed to a father, who by his counsels would rectify them, may be concealed from a judge, as he is to determine only from attested facts: the hidden sentiments of the heart are not within the cognizance of a court of judicature. Alexis might have denied them, or easily have thrown a veil over them; he was not obliged to lay open his mind; yet he answered, and in writing, “If the rebels had invited me in your life-time, I should probably have joined them, had they been strong enough.”

It is inconceivable that he should of himself give such an answer; and no less extraordinary would it be, at least according to our European usages, to have condemned him for thoughts which he might have had in regard to a case which, however, did not happen.

To this strange confession of his most secret thoughts, of which he had never given the most distant intimation, were added proofs, which, in more than one country, are not admitted in a court of justice.

The distressed Prince, bewildered with all the openness of fear, recollecting within himself whatever might conduce to his ruin, at length owned, that in confession to the Arch-priest Jacques, he had accused himself before God, “of having wished his father’s death; and that Jacques made answer, God will forgive you; it is no more than what all of us wish.”

All proofs derived from auricular confession are, by the Canons of the Church, not to be received at the bar; these are secrets between God and the penitent. The Greek Church believes no more than the Latin, that this private and sacred correspondence between a sinner and the Deity appertain to human law; but the State and Sovereign were concerned. The Arch-priest Jacques being put to the torture, owned what the Prince had revealed. It was a very uncommon circumstance to see the confessor accused by his penitent, and the penitent by his mistress. Another singular circumstance in this affair was, that the Archbishop of Rezan having been mentioned in the accusations, on account of the sermon which he had preached in favour of the Czarowitz, at the first appearance of the Czar's indignation against his son; this Prince, in his interrogatories, owned, that he relied on that prelate: yet this very same Archbishop of Rezan was at the head of the ecclesiastical judges whom the Czar consulted on the present arraignment, as the reader will soon see.

An essential remark presents itself in this singular trial, which has been very ill digested in the rude history of Peter I. by the fictitious Boyard Nesterusanov, and the remark is this.

In the answer Alexis returned to his father's first interrogatory, he owned, that when he was at Vienna, where he did not see the Emperor, he applied to Count Schonborn, a Lord of the Bedchamber, who said to him, "The Emperor will not forsake you; and at a proper season, after your father's death, he will assist you with an armed force to ascend the throne." "To which I replied," added the accused Prince, "That is not what I ask: all I desire is, that the Emperor will be pleased to grant me his protection." This deposition is plain and natural, and carries with it a great appearance of truth: for to have asked troops of the Emperor to go and dethrone his father, would have been the very height of folly; and nobody would have dared to have mentioned such an absurd proposal either to Prince Eugene, or to the council, or to the Emperor.

This deposition was in the month of February, and four months after, on the first of July, towards the conclusion of these procedures, the Czarowitz, in his last answer, is made to say in writing: "As it was my intention to imitate my father in nothing, I endeavoured to come at the succession at any rate whatever. I was for having it by foreign assistance; and if I had got my ends, and the Emperor had done what he promised me to procure me the crown of Russia, even by open force, I would have spared nothing to have secured myself in the succession. For instance, if the Emperor, in return, had asked of me some of my troops for his service against any of his enemies, or large sums of money, I would have done every thing he desired, even to the giving great presents to his Ministers and Generals, I would, at my own expence, have maintained the auxiliary troops with which he would have supplied me, to put me in the possession of the crown of Russia; and, in short, I would have stuck at nothing to have carried my point."

This last deposition of the Prince is evidently very forced; it seems as if he strove to make himself thought guilty; and what he says clashes with truth in a capital point. He says, that the Emperor had promised him "to procure him the crown by open force;" which was false. Count Schonborn had indeed given him hopes, that after the death of the Czar, his Imperial Majesty would help him to assert the claim of his birth; but the Emperor himself had not made any promise: in a word, the matter in agitation relates not to his revolting against his father, but to his succeeding him after his decease.

In this last interrogation he says what he believes he should have done, in case of a contest for his inheritance; an inheritance which he had not judicially renounced, before his journey to Vienna and Naples. Here again we see him deposing a second time, not what he had done, and what may be made obnoxious to the rigour of the law, but what he fancies
he

he might one day have done, and what, of course, came not within the cognizance of any court of justice. We likewise see him accusing himself twice of secret thoughts which he might have had hereafter. There never, before this, was a single instance in the whole world, of a man tried and condemned for transitory ideas starting up in his mind, and never communicated to any one living. There is not a court of justice in Europe, where a man accusing himself of a criminal thought, would be attended to; and it is even said, that God himself does not punish them, unless accompanied with a determination of the will.

To these observations, however natural, it may be answered, that Alexis, by his concealing several of the accomplices of his elopement, had given his father a right to punish him: his pardon was annexed to a general confession; and this he did not make till it was too late. In short, after such a procedure, it did not seem possible, according to human nature, that Alexis would ever pardon a brother, for whose sake he had been disinherited; and it was thought better to punish a delinquent, than endanger a whole empire. The rigour of justice coincided with reasons of state.

We ought not to judge of the laws and manners of one nation by those of another. The Czar had the fatal right of punishing his son with death, merely for his elopement; and thus he delivers his sentiments to the Bishops and Judges:

“ Though by all laws divine and human, and especially by those of Russia, which exclude all interposition of the civil power between father and son, even among private persons, we have a sufficient and absolute power of sentencing our son according to his crimes and our will, without consulting any one; yet men not being so clear-sighted in their own affairs as in those of others, and as the most skilful physicians, instead of prescribing for themselves, have recourse to others, when sick; so fearing lest I should bring some sin on my conscience, I state my case to you, and require a remedy. For, if ignorant of the nature
“ of

“ of my distemper, I should go about to cure it by my
 “ own ability; the consequence may be eternal death;
 “ seeing that I have sworn on the judgments of God,
 “ and have in writing promised my son his pardon, pro-
 “ vided he tells me the truth, and afterwards confirmed
 “ that promise with my mouth.

“ Although my son has broke his word, yet that I
 “ may not, in any respect, depart from my obligations,
 “ I desire you will think on this affair, and examine it
 “ with the greatest attention, to see what he has deserved.
 “ Do not flatter me: be neither in the least afraid, that
 “ should he deserve only a slight punishment, and you
 “ deliver your opinion accordingly, it will offend me;
 “ for I swear to you by the great God, and by his judg-
 “ ments, that absolutely you have nothing at all to
 “ apprehend.

“ Let it give you no uneasiness that you are to try
 “ your sovereign's son; but do justice, without respect
 “ of persons, and do not destroy both your own souls
 “ and mine: in short, let not our consciences have any
 “ thing to reproach us with on the terrible day of judg-
 “ ment, and let not our country be hurt.”

The Czar made a declaration nearly similar to this
 to the Clergy; so that every thing was conducted with
 the greatest solemnity; and the openness of Peter's pro-
 ceedings shewed a thorough persuasion of the justice of
 them.

These proceedings against the heir of such a vast
 Empire, lasted from the end of February to the fifth
 of July: the Prince was several times examined, and
 made the confessions required: we have related such of
 them as are the most essential.

On the first of July, the Clergy delivered their opi-
 nion in writing; the Czar, indeed, having asked for
 their opinion only, and not a sentence. The preamble
 deserves the attention of Europe.

“ This affair, say the Bishops and Archimandrites,
 “ does not in any wise belong to ecclesiastical jurisdic-
 “ tion; and the absolute prerogative established in the
 “ Empire of Russia has no dependence on the judgment
 “ of

“ of the subjects: the sovereign, by virtue of his authority, may act according to his good pleasure, and no inferior is to interfere.”

After this preamble they quote a passage from Leviticus, in which it is said, that whosoever curseth his father and mother, shall be punished with death; and another from the Gospel of St. Matthew, which makes mention of this rigorous law in Leviticus: after several other citations, they conclude in these very remarkable words:

“ If his Majesty is inclined to punish the delinquent according to his actions and the measure of his guilt, he has before him examples from the Old Testament: if he be inclined to spare, he has the example of Jesus Christ himself, kindly receiving the penitent prodigal; dismissing the woman taken in adultery, who, by the law, was to be stoned; and delighting in mercy more than sacrifice. He has the example of David, who is solicitous for the safety of Absalom his son, though an open rebel, recommending him to the commanders of his army, who insisted on giving him battle, *Spare my son Absalom*: the father was for shewing him mercy, but divine justice did not spare him.

“ The Czar’s heart is in the hands of God; let him chuse that to which the hand of God shall incline him.”

Eight Bishops, four Archimandrites, and two Professors signed this memorial; and, as we have already remarked, the Metropolitan of Rezan, who had been one of the Prince’s advisers, was the first that signed the memorial.

This opinion of the Clergy was immediately delivered to the Czar, whom the Clergy were manifestly for inclining to clemency. Nothing perhaps can be finer than this contrast of the mildness of Christ with the rigour of the Jewish law, thus held up to a father who was trying his own son.

On the same day Alexis was again examined for the last time, when he reduced his former confession into writing;

writing. It is in this confession that he accuses himself
 “ of having been a bigot in his youth; of having asso-
 “ ciated with Priests and Monks; of having drunk in-
 “ temperately with them; of having received from them
 “ those impressions which first alienated him from the
 “ duties of his condition, and even created in him a
 “ hatred of his father’s person.”

If he made this confession of himself, it is plain that he knew nothing of the lenient advice given by that very Clergy whom he accused; and it likewise proves what a change the Czar had wrought in the Priests of his country, who, from the grossest rudeness and ignorance, were in so short a time so improved, as to draw up a writing in matter and stile not unworthy the most illustrious Fathers of the Church.

In one of these last confessions it is that Alexis declares what has already been related, that he would come at the succession at any rate whatever.

By this last confession it appears, that he was afraid of not having in the former charged himself with guilt enough: besides, in his calling himself a person “ of a
 “ malignant mind, and an ill temper,” and in imagin-
 ing what he would have done, had the power been in his hands, he laboured to justify the sentence of death which was now to be pronounced on him, as it was on the 5th of July. The reader will find the whole of this sentence at the end of this History. Here we shall content ourselves with observing that, like the Clergy’s memorial, it begins with declaring, that such a trial never belonged to subjects, but to the Sovereign alone, as holding his power only from God; and then, after specifying the several articles against the Prince, the Judges express themselves in this manner: “ What can be
 “ thought of his intended rebellion, a thing altogether
 “ unparalleled in History, with the horror of a double
 “ parricide against his Sovereign, as father of his coun-
 “ try and his natural father.”

Perhaps, these words were wrong translated from the trial printed by the Czar’s order; for certainly greater rebellions have been in the world, and it does not ap-

pear any where, that ever the Czarowitz had a thought of killing his father. Perhaps, by the word *Parricide* was meant the Prince's recent acknowledgement of his having one day confessed, that he had wished his father's death, consequently that of his Sovereign; but the private acknowledgement, in confession, of an internal thought, is not a double parricide.

However it be, he was unanimously condemned to die; but without specifying the manner of his execution. Of an hundred and forty-four Judges, not so much as one ever thought of a penalty less than death. An English pamphlet, which made a great noise at that time, affirms, that had such a trial been decided by the Parliament of England, of one hundred and forty-four Judges, there would not have been so much as one who would have voted for the slightest penalty.

Nothing better shews the difference of times and places. Manlius himself might, by the laws of England, have suffered capitally for having put his son to death; yet on this very account he was respected by the severe Romans. The laws of England do not punish a Prince of Wales who shall withdraw out of the kingdom, being, as a Peer of the Realm, at liberty to go where he will. The laws of Russia do not permit the Sovereign's son to depart the Empire without his father's consent. A criminal thought, not carried into execution, is not punishable in England or France; in Russia it is: with us, a long, deliberate, and reiterated disobedience is only a misconduct, which it is necessary to check; but in the heir of a vast Empire, which would have been ruined by such disobedience, it was a capital crime. In a word, the Czarowitz had offended against the whole nation, by wishing to plunge it again into that ignominy and stupidity from which his father had raised it.

Such was the acknowledged power of the Czar, that he could put a disobedient son to death without consulting any other person; yet he referred the case to the judgment of the representatives of the nation, so that it was the nation itself which passed sentence on the Prince; and Peter, confident of the equity of his proceedings,
caused

caused the trial to be printed; and translated; thus submitting himself to the judgment of the whole world.

The laws of history will not suffer us to palliate or disguise any part of this transaction. Europe was at a loss whom to pity most; a young Prince accused by his father, and condemned to death by those who should one day have been his subjects; or a father who thought himself obliged to sacrifice his own son to the welfare of the Empire.

Several authors have asserted, that the Czar had procured from Spain the trial of Don Carlos, condemned to die by Philip II.; but Don Carlos was never so much as brought to a trial. The behaviour of Peter the Great was quite different from that of Philip. The Spaniard never made known on what account he had caused his son to be put under arrest, nor the manner of the Prince's death. The letters which he wrote to the Pope and the Empress on this head are absolutely inconsistent. William Prince of Orange publicly taxed Philip with having sacrificed his son and his wife to his jealousy; and of having been not only a rigid judge, but a jealous and cruel husband, an unnatural father, and a parricide. Philip made no reply to those accusations; whereas Peter did every thing, as it were, in broad day; and openly declared, that he preferred his nation to his own son, referring himself to the opinion of the clergy and the nobility, and making the whole world a judge both of them and of himself.

Another extraordinary circumstance in this melancholy affair is, that the Czarina Catharine, though hated by the Czarowitz, and loudly threatened with the most afflictive condition if ever this Prince ascended the throne, was not in the least accessory to his catastrophe. No foreign Minister residing at that court has ever accused, or so much as suspected her of having taken the least step against a son-in-law from whom she had every thing to fear. If it is not said that she interceded for his pardon, all the memoirs of that time, especially those of Count Bassewitz, agree, that she pitied his misfortunes.

I have in my possession the papers of a public Minister, in which I find these very words: "I was present when the Czar said to the Duke of Holstein, Catharine intreated me to hinder sentence being pronounced against the Czarowitz: Content yourself, said she, with compelling him to become a monk, as the disgrace of a sentence of death will reflect on your grandson."

The Czar did not yield to his wife's intreaties: he thought it proper that the sentence should be publicly pronounced against the Prince, to the end, that, after this solemn act, he might never except against a judgment in which he had himself acquiesced; and being thus civilly dead, it would for ever disable him from pretending to the crown.

Nevertheless, if after Peter's death a powerful party had declared for Alexis, would this civil death have incapacitated him from reigning?

The sentence was accordingly pronounced to the Prince, and the same Memoirs inform me, that he fell into convulsions at these words: "All laws, divine and ecclesiastical, civil and military, condemn to death, without mercy, those who have been manifestly guilty of attempts against the lives of their fathers and their sovereigns." His convulsions are said to have terminated in apoplexy, and it was with great difficulty that he was brought to himself. However, he recovered his senses a little, and in this interval between life and death, he sent a request to his father to come to him. The Czar came. At this interview, both the father and the unfortunate son melted into tears; the condemned Prince asked pardon, and the father publicly forgave him. His disease encreasing to an agony, the extreme unction was solemnly administered to him; and the day after that fatal sentence, he died in the presence of the whole court. His body was immediately carried to the cathedral, where it lay in an open coffin four days, exposed to public view, and was interred by his wife's side in the church belonging to the Citadel, the Czar and Czarina assisting at the ceremony.

We are here indispensibly obliged to imitate (if we may be allowed the expression) the conduct of the Czar; that is, to submit to the public judgment the facts which we have now related with the most scrupulous fidelity; and not only the facts, but the reports which were spread, and what authors of the best repute have printed on this extraordinary subject. Lamberti, of all others the most impartial and exact, and who has only inserted original and authentic papers concerning the affairs of Europe, seems here to depart from that impartiality and discernment for which he is so deservedly esteemed; his words are these: "The Czarina, "being in continual apprehensions on account of her "son, did not allow herself any rest till she had induced "the Czar to bring his eldest son to a trial, and cause "him to be sentenced to die; and something more "strange is, that the Czar, after having himself inflicted the knout on the young Prince, with his own "hands cut off his head. The body of the Czarowitz "was publicly exposed, and the head so fitted to the "body, that it did not appear ever to have been "severed. Some time after, the Czarina's son, to the "great grief of his parents, died; and the Czar, who "with his own hand had beheaded his eldest son, now "seeing himself without a successor, contracted a sourness of temper. At this very time he received information that the Czarina was carrying on clandestine "intrigues with Prince Menzikoff; which added to the "reflection, that it was at the Czarina's instigations he "had sacrificed his only son, he entertained a thought "of having the Czarina shaved and shut up in a convent, as he had his first wife, who was still under that religious confinement. The Czar used every day to "minute down his thoughts, and he had not omitted "his design on the Czarina. She had bribed the pages "of her husband's bedchamber; and one of them, who "had been used to take the pocket-book from under "the toilet, in order to shew it to the Czarina, carried "that wherein the Czar's design was minuted, to Catharine. This Princess, on seeing its contents, communicated it to Menzikoff, and within a day or two

“ the Czar was seized with an unknown and violent
 “ distemper, which carried him off. This disease, on
 “ account of its suddenness and violence, was attributed
 “ to poison; a practice said to be too common in Mus-
 “ covy.”

These accusations, contained in Lamberti's Memoirs, were spread all over Europe. There are likewise a great number of manuscripts and printed copies, by which these dishonourable opinions may be conveyed to posterity as truths: I therefore think it my duty to relate what is come to my knowledge.

I first certify, that the person from whom Lamberti had the above-mentioned strange anecdote, though born in Russia, was of a foreign family; that so far from living in the Empire at the time of the catastrophe of the Czarowitz, he had left it several years before. I knew him formerly: he had seen Lamberti at Nyon, a small town, whither that writer had retired, and where I have often been. This same person owned to me, that all he had talked about with Lamberti was only “ the report of those
 “ times.”

The reader may perceive from this instance how much more easy it was formerly for one man to brand another in the records of Nations, when, before the invention of printing, histories were in few hands, not exposed to public reading, not contradicted by cotemporaries, nor, as at present, within the verge of universal criticism. A single line of Tacitus or Suetonius, or even of the author of a Legend, was sufficient to render a Prince odious to the world, and transmit his infamy to posterity.

How could the Czar have cut off the head of his son, when extreme unction was administered to him in the presence of all the Court? Had he no head when the oil was poured on it? At what time might this head have been stitched on again to his body? The Prince, from the reading of the sentence to his death, was not left alone one moment.

The account of his father's making use of the axe overthrows the story of his having been dispatched by poison.

It

It is indeed something uncommon, that a young man should die under a sudden disorder, at hearing his sentence, and especially a sentence which he expected; the physicians, however, own that such a thing is possible.

If the Czar had poisoned his son, as so many writers have asserted, this would have deprived him of the advantage of all he had been doing, during the course of this extraordinary trial, to convince Europe of the right he had to punish; it would have brought a suspicion on the motives of the sentence, and would have been condemning himself. If he had resolved on Alexis's death, he would have caused the sentence to have been executed. Was it not entirely in his power? Can a prudent person, a Monarch who had attracted the eyes of all the world, bring himself basely to poison one whom he has a right to cut off with the sword of justice? Would he suffer his name to be transmitted to posterity with the horrid reputation of a parricide, when he might so easily have brought himself off only as a rigorous judge?

It seems evident from all I have related, that Peter had more of the King than of the Father in him; and that he sacrificed his own son to his views as founder and legislator, and to the interest of his Nation, which, without this unhappy rigour, would have relapsed into the condition from which he had raised it. It is plain that he did not sacrifice his son to a mother-in-law, and to the male child which he had by her; for he often threatened to disinherit him before Catharine had brought forth that son, the infirmities of whose infancy bespoke him to be but short-lived, and who accordingly died soon after. Had Peter run such a length, merely for the sake of gratifying his wife, he must have been a very weak, timorous Prince, which certainly he was not. He foresaw the fate of his establishments, and consequently of his Nation, should his views be prosecuted after his decease. All his undertakings are now brought to perfection; and, according to his prediction, the Russian Nation is in consequence become celebrated and respected throughout Europe, from which it was be-

fore in some measure separated: but if Alexis had come to the crown, every thing would have been quashed at once. In short, on maturely considering this catastrophe, the humane shudder, and the severe approve.

This great and horrid event is yet so recent in men's minds, and so often talked of with astonishment, that it is absolutely necessary to examine what has been said of it by the writers of that time. One of those necessitous writers who impudently assume the title of historian, in his book dedicated to the Count de Bruhl, Prime Minister to the King of Poland, has the following expressions: "All Russia is persuaded that the Czarowitz died no otherwise than by poison, prepared by his mother-in-law." This charge is overthrown by the confession of the Czar to the Duke of Holstein, that the Czarina Catharine had advised him, after his son's condemnation, to shut him up in a Monastery.

As to that Empress's having afterwards poisoned even her husband Peter, it is a tale which invalidates itself, only by the bare incident of the page and the pocket-book. Did any man ever think of minuting down in his pocket-book, "I must remember to have my wife shut up in a Convent?" Is this a particular which may slip the memory, so that a memorandum must be made of it? If Catharine had poisoned her son-in-law and her husband, we should have heard of other crimes of her's; whereas, so far from being reproached with any act of cruelty, she was famed for clemency and lenity.

It is now necessary to let the reader see what was the first cause of Alexis's behaviour, of his elopement, his death, and that of those conspirators who died by the hand of the executioner. It was the abuse of religion; and Priests and Monks were the agents. That these were at the bottom of those deplorable events, is not obscurely intimated in some of Alexis's confessions, but more particularly appears from this expression of the Emperor Peter, in a letter to his son: "Those long beards will turn and wind you as they please."

In

In the Memoirs of an Ambassador then at the Court of Petersburg, I find the following explanation of the above expression, which I shall give nearly in his own words. Many ecclesiastics, says he, tenacious of their former barbarism, and fearing for their authority, which declined as the Nation became more enlightened, were impatient to see Alexis on the throne, this Prince having promised to restore that barbarism to which they were so wedded. Of this number was Dozitheus, Bishop of Rostou, who forged a revelation from St. Demetrius. The Saint had appeared to him, and given him notice from God, that Peter had not three months to live; that Eudoxia, then a recluse in the convent of Susdale, under the name of Helena, together with Princess Mary, the Czar's sister, should re-ascend the throne, and reign jointly with her son Alexis. Eudoxia and Mary were weak enough to give credit to this imposture; and the former was so persuaded of it, that Helena in the convent laid aside her religious habit, re-assumed the name of Eudoxia, caused herself to be stiled Majesty, and the name of her rival Catharine to be expunged out of the liturgy; in short, she appeared in the ancient ceremonial dress of the Czarinas. The Bursar of the convent expressing her disapprobation of such steps, Eudoxia haughtily answered: "Peter punished the Strelitzes for affronting his mother, and my son Alexis will not suffer his to be insulted;" upon which she had the Bursar confined in her cell. An officer, named Stephen Glebo, being introduced into the convent, Eudoxia prevailed on him by presents to administer to her designs. He industriously spread Dozitheus's prediction all over the town of Susdal, and the neighbourhood. But the three months were now elapsed, and the Czar still living. This drew on the Bishop severe expostulations from Eudoxia: "Madam," answered he, "this is owing to my father's sins; he is in purgatory, and has so signified to me." On this, Eudoxia ordered a thousand *requiems* to be said. Dozitheus assured her that they took effect; and at a month's end he came to acquaint her that his father's head was already

already out of purgatory; a month after he pretended that the deceased was only up to his waist; then, that all was clear but his feet; and if they were once out, but there lay the difficulty, Czar Peter would infallibly die.

Princess Mary, overpersuaded by Dozitheus, gave herself up to him, on condition that the Prophet's father should be instantly discharged from purgatory, and the prophecy fulfilled; and Glebo continued his commerce with the former Czarina.

It was chiefly owing to his belief in these predictions, that the Czarowitz withdrew, and went abroad to wait for his father's death. But the whole affair was soon discovered. Dozitheus and Glebo were taken into custody; Princess Mary's letters to Dozitheus, and those of Helena to Glebo, were publicly read before the Senate. Princess Mary was confined in Schlusselfburg castle, and the late Czarina removed to another convent, where she was kept a prisoner. Dozitheus and Glebo, with all the accomplices in this fruitless and superstitious intrigue, as well as those who were privy to Alexis's escape, were put to the torture. His Confessor, his Governor, and the Marshal of his Court, died by the hand of the executioner.

Thus we see at what a dear rate Peter the Great purchased the happiness he procured to his people; how many public and private impediments he had to surmount, in the midst of a long and difficult war, with enemies abroad, rebels at home; half his family plotting against him; the greater number of the Clergy obstinately declaring against his schemes; almost the whole Nation, for a long time, execrating its own happiness, of which it had not then a proper sense; prejudices to overcome, discontents to allay, till at length a new generation, formed by his care, should concur in those ideas of prosperity and glory which their fathers could not bear.

C H A P. XI.

Works and Institutions in the Year 1718, and the following.

DURING this horrible catastrophe, it evidently appeared that Peter was only the father of his country, and that he looked upon the whole Nation as his family. The punishments which he had been obliged to inflict on that part of his subjects who were for hindering the happiness of the rest, were so many sacrifices, which a painful necessity obliged him to offer up to the public.

It was in this very year, 1718, the epocha of the disinheritance and of the death of his eldest son, that he most promoted the welfare and prosperity of his subjects, by erecting a general police, quite unknown before; establishing and perfecting manufactures and fabricks of all kinds; striking out new branches of commerce, which was beginning to flourish; and making canals to join rivers, seas, and nations, which Nature had separated. These indeed are not such events as charm the generality of readers; like court intrigues, which gratify malignity, or great revolutions, which engage the general curiosity of mankind; but they are the true springs of public happiness, and the philosophic eye takes pleasure in surveying them.

He appointed a Lieutenant-General of the Police of the whole Empire, who resided at Petersburg, as President of a Court for maintaining good order throughout all Russia. Luxury in apparel, and games of chance, still worse than luxury itself, were severely prohibited. Schools of arithmetic, for which orders had been issued in 1716, were now opened in all the towns of the Empire. The Orphan and Foundling Houses were finished, endowed, and filled.

We shall here add all the useful regulations which had been projected before, and were finished some years after.

after, The great towns were cleared of those swarms of beggars who chuse no other employment than to importune those that have, to lead a scandalous and wretched life at the expence of others; an evil too much tolerated in other States.

The wealthy were obliged to build houses at Peterburgh of a regular construction, and according to their station; and the causing all the materials to be brought thither free-cost, by vessels and carriages returning empty from the neighbouring Provinces, was an excellent ordinance.

Weights and measures were fixed and made uniform, as were also the laws. This uniformity, which has been so long, though in vain, wished for in other countries long since civilized, was settled in Russia without any difficulty or murmur; and, though manifestly beneficial, I much question whether it would be practicable amongst us. The price of provisions was regulated; the streets of Peterburgh were lighted at night by means of lamps, in imitation of those introduced in Paris under Louis XIV. but to which Rome itself is yet a stranger; engines were made for the more speedy extinguishing of fires; the streets were paved; in a word, the several regulations for safety, cleanliness, and order; the conveniencies for inland trade; the privileges granted to strangers, and methods against any abuse of such privileges; gave a new appearance to Moscow and Peterburgh.

The manufacture of arms, especially that erected by the Czar, about ten miles from Peterburgh, was improved with particular attention: he himself was the principal director, and very often he had a thousand hands at work under his inspection. He went in person to give his orders to the undertakers of corn, powder and saw mills; also to the directors of the rope-yards, of the sail-cloth and linen manufactures, of the brick-kilns and slate-quarries. A great number of workmen, of every kind, flocked to him from France. This was one advantage of his journey to that kingdom.

He established a Commercial Court of Justice, the members of which were half natives and half foreigners, that

that all the artists and workmen might enjoy equal favour. A native of France, assisted by Prince Menzikoff, set up a looking-glass manufacture at Peterburgh with great success. Another erected a tapestry manufacture on the plan of the Gobelins; and which to this day is very much encouraged. A third introduced gold and silver wire-drawing; but by the Czar's orders, to prevent any considerable diminution of bullion, only four thousand marks either of gold or silver were to be employed in this manufacture.

He gave thirty thousand rubles, that is, a hundred and fifty thousand French livres, with every necessary material and instrument, to those who undertook the manufactures of cloths and other woollen stuffs. This judicious liberality enabled him to clothe his troops with cloth manufactured in his own country; whereas, before that time, it was procured from Berlin, and other foreign parts.

At Moscow they make linen equal to that of Holland; and at the time of Peter's decease, Moscow and Jaronslau had fourteen manufactures of linen and canvas.

It is certain, that no one would have imagined formerly, when silk bore such an exorbitant price in Europe as to sell for its weight in gold, that one day, beyond Lake Ladoga, in a frozen climate, and amidst unknown fens, a splendid and opulent city should arise, manufacturing the silk of Persia as well as at Ispahan. This Peter undertook and completed. The iron mines were better worked than ever; and some of gold and silver were discovered; on which a Board of Mines was erected, to ascertain whether the produce would exceed the expence of working them.

To make so many manufactures and such a variety of arts and undertakings flourish, it was not enough to sign patents, and appoint inspectors: he was obliged at first to look into every thing himself, and even to work with his own hands, as before he had been seen to build and rig ships, and steer them. When canals were to be dug through sloughs and miry grounds, almost impracticable, he sometimes would put himself at the head
of

of the labourers; shovel up the earth, and carry it away himself.

In this same year, 1718, he planned the Ladoga canal and sluices. His design was to open a communication between the Neva and another navigable river, for the greater conveniency of bringing goods to Petersburg, by avoiding a circuit through the Ladoga Lake, which besides is so very tempestuous, as often to be quite impracticable to small barks. He began the work with his own hands, and the spade and wheelbarrow used by him on this occasion are still preserved. His example being followed by the whole Court, a work accounted impossible was brought to great forwardness, and, since his decease, finished; for not one of his undertakings, manifestly practicable, has been discontinued.

The large canal at Cronstadt, for careening and repairing ships of war, being easily drained, was also begun at the very time of his son's trial.

In the very same year he built the new town of Ladoga; and soon after drew that canal which unites the Caspian Sea to the Gulph of Finland and the Ocean. The waters of two rivers which he joined, receive the barks going up the Volga: from these rivers, another canal leads into Ilmin Lake, and this into the canal of Ladoga, from which goods may be exported by the main sea to all parts of the world.

Amidst these works, all carried on under his own eye, his attention extended itself to Kamtschatka, which is situated in the most eastern part of Asia. He caused two forts to be erected in that country, which was so long unknown to the rest of the world. In the mean time, engineers from his Naval Academy, which had been founded in 1715, were employed all over the Empire in drawing correct maps, and thus displaying to the world the vast extent of those countries which he had civilized and enriched.

C H A P. XII.

Of Trade.

BEFORE Peter's time, foreign commerce was greatly decayed; but he revived it. The course of trade is well known to have frequently varied. Before Tamerlane's time, South Russia had been the staple of Greece, and even of India; and the chief factors were the Genoese. The Tanais and Boristhenes were laden with the products of Asia. But Tamerlane, towards the close of the fourteenth century, making a conquest of the Chersonesus Taurica, since called Crimea, and Asoph falling into the hands of the Turks, this large branch of commerce of the then known world fell into a total decline. The Czar's chief view in making himself master of Asoph, was to re-establish that trade: but the unfortunate campaign on the Pruth had been the cause of his losing that city; and from that moment all his views of a commerce from the Black Sea were disconcerted. The resource of opening a traffick not less extensive by the Caspian Sea, still remained; it had been attempted in the sixteenth century, and the beginning of the seventeenth, by the English, who had set on foot the trade to Archangel; but all their endeavours proved ineffectual.

We have already had reason to remark, that Peter's father had a ship built by a Dutchman, to trade from Astracan to the coasts of Persia; but that vessel having been burnt by the rebel Stenkorazir, all hopes of carrying on a direct commerce with the Persians vanished.

The Armenians being the factors of this part of Asia, Peter admitted them into Astracan; for there was a necessity of dealing with them, and leaving them the whole advantage of the traffick. The Banians are on a similar footing in India; and to this day, the Turks, and even several Christian States, treat the Jews in the same

same manner; for they who have but one way of living, seldom fail of making themselves very expert in that business on which depends their subsistence; whilst other Nations suffer themselves to become tributary to talents of which they are not possessed.

Peter had already remedied this disadvantage, by making a treaty with the Emperor of Persia, in virtue of which, all the silk not intended for the Persian manufactures was to be vended to the Armenians of Astracan, to be by them imported into Russia.

The commotions in Persia soon set aside this arrangement. In the sequel we shall see Shah Hussein, Emperor of that country, imploring Peter's assistance against his rebellious subjects; in consequence whereof Peter, after maintaining such difficult wars against the Turks and the Swedes, marched an army into Persia, and subdued three Provinces of that Empire: but here we are speaking only of commerce.

Of the Trade with China.

The scheme for trading with China seemed, of all others, to be the most promising. Two immense countries contiguous, and each producing what is wanting in the other, appeared both of them to be under the happy necessity of contracting an useful intercourse, especially as a peace between Russia and China had been solemnly sworn to in the year 1689, according to our mode of computation.

The first foundations of this trade had been laid so long since as the year 1653. Several inhabitants of Siberia, and families from Boukaria, formed themselves into a trading society at Tobol. These caravans, after passing the plains of the Kalmuck Tartars, crossed the deserts till they reached Chinese Tartary, and made considerable gains. But these promising enterprizes came to a period by disturbances among the Kalmucks, and quarrels between the Russians and Chinese, with regard to their frontiers.

After

After the peace in 1689, it was natural that the two Nations should agree on a neutral place, as a staple, whither the merchandizes were to be brought. The Siberians, like all other Nations, standing in greater need of the Chinese than the Chinese of them, applied to the Emperor of China, for leave to send caravans to Pekin, which, at the beginning of the present century, was easily obtained.

It is very remarkable, that even so early as the period we are speaking of, the Emperor Camhi had permitted a Russian church, the duty of which was performed by some Siberian Priests, to be erected in one of the suburbs of Pekin. The whole expences of this institution were defrayed by the Imperial treasury. Camhi had generously caused this church to be built for several families of East Siberia, some taken prisoners before the peace in 1689, and others fugitives: yet after the peace at Nipchou, none were for returning to their country; the climate of Pekin, the mildness of the Chinese manners, and the easiness of living comfortably with moderate labour, had determined them to remain in China. Their little Greek church did not, like the seminaries of the Jesuits, endanger the quiet of the Empire. Besides, the Emperor Camhi countenanced liberty of conscience; a toleration which in all times had subsisted in Asia, as formerly all over the world, till the time of the Roman Emperor Theodosius I. These Russian families, by their intermarriages with the Chinese, gradually neglected Christianity; but their church still remains.

It was agreed that the Siberian caravans should always have the use of this church, on their coming with furs and other articles of trade to Pekin. Prince Gagarin, Governor of Siberia, was for twenty years chief director of this traffick. The caravans were sometimes very numerous; and the greater part of them consisting of the lower sort of people, it was not easy to keep them in proper order.

Their route lay through the country of a Lama, a kind of sovereign, residing on the river Orkon, and

filed the *Koutoukas*. This Prelate, who is a Vicar of the Great Lama, by introducing some alterations into the religion of the country, the principal tenet of which is the antient Indian notion of the Metempsychosis, has made himself independent: this Priest cannot be better compared than to the Lutheran Bishops of Lubec and Osnabrug, who have thrown off the Romish yoke. Not only this Tartarian Prelate, but even the Chinese were insulted by the caravans, and the trade was a second time interrupted by this misbehaviour; the Chinese threatening, that if a stop were not put to such enormities, the caravans should not be allowed to set foot within their Empire. The China trade was at that time of vast advantage to the Russians, their returns being in gold, silver, and gems. The largest known ruby in the world was brought from China to Prince Gagarin; it afterwards fell into the hands of Menzikoff, and is now one of the ornaments of the Imperial crown.

Prince Gagarin's extortions greatly hurt the commerce which had enriched him; but at length they proved fatal to himself: for, being arraigned before the court of justice which the Czar had erected, he lost his head, a year after the condemnation of the Czarowitz, and the execution of most of those who had any close connection with that unfortunate Prince.

At this very time, the Emperor Camhi perceiving that his health was beginning to decline, and knowing from experience, that the European mathematicians were superior to those of China, concluded that the physicians must also be more skilful. Accordingly, by the Ambassadors who were on their return from Peking to Petersburg, he desired the Czar to send him a physician. An English surgeon*, who happened to be at Petersburg, offering to act in that character, was sent with a new Ambassador, and Laurence Lange, to whom

* This was John Bell, Esq. After his return to his own country, he published an account of his "Travels from St. Petersburg in Russia to diverse parts of Asia," in 2 vols. octavo. *Translator.*

we are obliged for a description* of this journey. The Ambassador was received and entertained with great splendor. The English surgeon found the Emperor in good health, and was esteemed a very expert physician. The caravan which followed the embassy traded to great advantage; yet this very caravan, by fresh outrages, gave such offence to the Chinese, that Lange, then Resident from the Czar at the Court of China, was sent back, and with him all the Russian merchants.

The Emperor Camhi dying, was succeeded by his son Yontchin, who, with all his father's wisdom, had more resolution: he expelled the Jesuits out of his dominions, as the Czar had banished them in 1718 out of Russia, and concluded a treaty with Peter, by which the Russian caravans were to traffic only on the frontiers of the two Empires. None but the factors sent in the name of the Sovereign of Russia were to be admitted into Pekin, where they had apartments in a vast house which the Emperor Camhi had assigned to the Envoys of Corea. It is a long time since any factors or caravans have been sent to the city of Pekin. This trade has long been in a languid state, but appears now to be on the revival.

Of the Trade of Petersburg and the other Parts of the Russian Empire.

So early as the times we have been speaking of, the number of foreign ships annually entered at the new Imperial city exceeded two hundred; and its trade has daily increased; so that, some years, it has brought in a revenue to the crown of five millions of French livres. This is much more than the interest of those sums which this plan had cost. Its trade has proved a great detriment to that of Archangel: and this was what its founder intended. Archangel, beside its many difficulties, lying

* The reader will find a translation of Mr. Lange's Journal in the second volume of Bell's travels. *Translator.*

too much out of the way, and trade is always most advantageously carried on under the eye of a judicious and attentive Sovereign. That of Livonia has ever continued on the same footing. Russia, in general, has traded with success; a thousand or twelve hundred ships come annually into its ports, so that Peter may well be said to have blended utility with glory:

C H A P. XIII.

Of the Laws.

EVERY body knows that good laws are very rare, but the due execution of them is still more so. To unite under one set of laws a State of vast extent, and composed of different nations, is scarcely practicable. Czar Peter's father had caused a Code to be formed with the title of *Oulogenia*, and it was even printed, but did not at all answer the purpose.

Peter, in his travels, had collected materials for rebuilding this large structure, which was going to ruin on every side: Denmark, Sweden, England, Germany, and France, afforded him instructions, and from these several nations he adopted what he thought would suit his own.

There was a Court of Boyards, which, in all processes, had a power of judging definitively: instead of knowledge, rank and birth were the only qualifications for a seat in it: this Court was abolished.

He appointed an Attorney-General, with four Assessors, in every government throughout his Empire. Their business was to have an eye to the behaviour of the Judges, whose sentences were controllable by the Senate which he erected. To each of these Judges was given a copy of the *Oulogenia*, with the necessary alterations and additions, till a complete body of laws could be digested.

These Judges, under the penalty of death, were not to take any fees; and though with us they are moderate, it were better there was no such custom. The heaviest expences in our Courts are the fees of the subalterns, the multiplicity of writings, and above all, that enormous practice of putting only three words in a line; thus, as it were, crushing the substance of individuals under an immense heap of papers. The Czar took care that all the charges should be reduced, and the processes brought to a speedy issue: the Judges and their clerks had salaries payable out of the Imperial revenue, and their places were no longer purchased.

It was chiefly in the year 1718, whilst the trial of his son was carrying on with all the formalities before mentioned, that these regulations took place. The greater part of his laws were taken from those of Sweden, and he even promoted to judicial offices such Swedish prisoners who were versed in the laws of their country, and who, having learned the Russian language, were willing to reside in that Empire.

Private suits were cognizable by the Governor of the Province and his Assessors, but with appeal to the Senate. If any man, after being cast in the Senate, appealed to the Czar, he was liable to suffer death, if his appeal were ill-grounded: however, as a corrective to this rigorous law, Peter created a Master-General of Requests, to examine the petitions of all who, in the Senate or in the inferior Courts, had causes in which the law as yet was not explicit.

At length, in 1722, his new code was finished, and he forbid the Judges, under the penalty of death, to deviate from it, or substitute their own private opinion to the law of the land. This tremendous edict is always posted up in every court of justice.

He created, as it were, every thing anew; even the ceremonials of company are his. He settled the ranks of men according to their employments, from the Admiral and Marshal to the Ensign, without any regard to birth.

Being himself convinced, and desirous to convince

his subjects, that services are preferable to ancestry, he likewise fixed the ranks of women; and she who in an assembly took a place which did not belong to her, paid a fine.

By a still more useful regulation, every soldier, on being made an officer, became a gentleman; and every Boyard, on being declared infamous in a court of justice, forfeited his nobility.

After these laws and ordinances had been digested and taken place, the increase of trade and wealth, the enlargement of the towns, the population of the Empire, new undertakings, and the creation of new employments, necessarily brought on a multiplicity of new affairs and business, and of unforeseen cases, and all consequential to Peter's successes in the general reformation and improvement of his dominions.

The Empress Elizabeth completed the Code of Laws begun by her father; and these laws correspond with the mildness of her reign.

C H A P. XIV.

Of Religion.

PETER, at that very time, was more busied than ever in bringing about an ecclesiastical reformation. He had suppressed the patriarchate, an act of authority which had not conciliated the hearts of the clergy. The Imperial authority was to be absolute, that of the Church subordinate, yet held in respect: in order to this, he intended to erect a perpetual Ecclesiastical Commission, dependent on the sovereign; and which was to impose on the Church such institutes only, as should be approved by the Master of the whole State, of which the Church is a part. In this undertaking he was assisted by an Archbishop of Novogorod, named Theophanes Procop, or Procopwitz, *i. e.* the son of Procop.

This Prelate was a man of learning and prudence: he had seen the errors which prevail in Europe, having travelled

travelled through great part of it: and the Czar having made the like observations, had, in all his establishments, this great advantage, that he could, without any contradiction, select the useful, and avoid what was dangerous or detrimental. In the years 1718 and 1719, he himself used to discuss these affairs with the Archbishop. A perpetual Synod was instituted, composed of twelve members, Bishops or Archimandrites, all nominated by the sovereign. This council was afterwards augmented to fourteen.

The Czar set forth the motives for this institution, in a preliminary discourse: the principal is, 'That under the administration of a Synod of Priests none of those disturbances and indiscretions are to be feared, which might happen under the government of a single ecclesiastical chief; that the people, seeing on one side a head of the State, and on the other a head of the Church, might, from the superstition natural to them, come to imagine, that there are in reality two supreme powers.' On this important point, he produces the instances of long dissensions between the Crown and the Priesthood, which in different States have been the cause of so much bloodshed.

He thought, and used publicly to say, 'That the idea of two distinct powers, founded on the allegory of two swords, which the Apostles happened to have in their possession, was altogether absurd.'

The Czar invested this tribunal with the power of modelling the whole ecclesiastical discipline; of inquiring into the abilities and morals of persons nominated by the sovereign to episcopal sees; of passing final sentence in religious causes, which used to be determined by appeal to the Patriarch; and of taking cognizance of the monastical revenues, and the distributions of alms.

This Synod was stiled 'Most Sacred,' the title formerly assumed by the Patriarch. Thus the Czar might be said to restore the patriarchal dignity, though distributed among fourteen colleagues, but all dependent on the sovereign, and sworn to obey him; an

oath which the patriarchs did not take. The members of this sacred Synod, when assembled, bore an equal rank with Senators; but, like the Senate, depended on the Prince.

It was not till four years after, in 1722, that this new administration, and ecclesiastical code, received a settled form, and became in force. At first, the Synod was to present to Peter such whom they thought most worthy of being raised to the dignity of Prelates; and the Emperor having appointed a Bishop, the Synod consecrated him. Peter frequently presided at the meetings of this assembly; and one day, when a Bishop was to be presented to the Czar, the Synod intimated to him, that as yet they knew of none but illiterate men: "Well," said he, "you have then only to chuse the honestest man; he will do full as well as a scholar."

It is right to observe, that the Greek Church has no secular Abbots, as we term them; the *small band* there is only a mark of ridicule: but as bad an abuse among them, since abuses must be every where, is, that the Prelates are chosen from among the Monks. The primitive Monks were only seculars, who withdrew to solitudes; some from a motive of devotion, and some through fanaticism; at length St. Basil, gathering them together, prescribed them a discipline, to the punctual observance of which they bound themselves. They were reckoned the last order of the Hierarchy, by which it was necessary to begin for the attainment of ecclesiastical dignity. It was on this account that Greece and Asia were filled with Monks. Russia also swarmed with them. They were wealthy, consequently had great power; and, though grossly ignorant, were, at Peter's accession, almost the only persons in Russia who could write. Of this skill they made a very culpable use in the beginning of his reign, disseminating invectives against all his glorious innovations; so that in 1703, he found himself obliged to restrain them from pen and ink, without a formal licence from an Archimandrite, who became responsible

responsible for those to whom he gave such licence.

Peter was determined that the following regulations should continue in force. At first he was for excluding from the monastic order all persons under fifty years of age; but considering the shortness of human life, it was too late for forming Bishops: accordingly, after advising with his Synod, he reduced the monastic age to thirty, and no person under that term was to be admitted; with a prohibition, that no military person or occupier of land should at any time turn Monk without an express permission from the Emperor or the Synod. No married man, even after divorce, can be admitted into a convent, unless his wife of her own free will takes the veil, and they have no children. No person in the service of the State can be admitted a Monk without a formal licence. Every Monk is to work at some trade. The Nuns are never to go out of their convent; and at the age of fifty, like the Deaconesses of the primitive Church, the tonsure is administered to them: but if, previously to this ceremony, they are inclined to marry, it is not only allowable, but they are even exhorted to it; an admirable regulation in a country where population is much more wanted than monasteries.

Peter was desirous that those unhappy girls, introduced by Providence into the world to people it, yet, from an injudicious devotion, burying in convents that offspring of whom they were to have been the mothers, should however be of some little use to society, thus injured by them; he therefore gave orders for their being all employed in such works as were suitable to their sex. The Empress Catharine undertook to procure workwomen from Brabant and Holland, and these people being distributed in the convents, the Nuns soon came to make laces that were worn by the Empress and the Ladies of her court.

There never, perhaps, was any thing in the whole world wiser than these institutions; but what deserves the notice and admiration of all ages, is the regulations drawn up by Peter himself, and presented by him to the Synod

Synod in 1724. He was assisted on this occasion by Theophanes Procopwitz. In this instrument the ancient ecclesiastical institution is very learnedly set forth, and monastical indolence powerfully combated. It not only recommends, but enjoins employment; and the chief occupation is to be the relief of the poor. It directs, that disabled soldiers be distributed among the convents; that some of the Monks be particularly appointed to tend them; that the most robust cultivate the monastic lands. The like are its directions in regard to nunneries: the strongest Nuns are to take care of the gardens; others are to be about patients of their sex who may be brought to the convent. It enters into the most minute particulars relative to these duties. Some monasteries of each sex are assigned for admitting and bringing up orphans.

On perusing this ordinance of Peter the Great, January 31, 1724, one cannot help fancying it to have been the joint performance of a Minister of State and a Father of the Church.

Almost all the usages of the Russian Church differ from ours. With us, a man on his becoming a Sub-deacon is not to marry; to contribute to the peopling of his native country, in him is sacrilege: whereas, in Russia, a man on his being ordained a Sub-deacon, is obliged to take a wife, and thus is capable of being a Priest and Arch-priest; but a Bishop must be a widower and a Monk.

Peter prohibited the parochial clergy from employing more than one of their children in the service of their church, unless at the desire of the parish itself, lest too numerous a family might tyrannise over the parish. In these ecclesiastic ordinances we see every minute particular calculated for the good of the State, and every measure taken that the Priesthood shall be respected without being dangerous, and kept in a salutary medium between debasement and pre-eminence.

In some interesting papers of an Officer who was a great favourite of Peter, I find that one of the *Spectators*, an English periodical paper, the subject of which

was a parallel between him and Louis XIV. having one day been read to him, "I do not think that I deserve the preference given to me above that Monarch; but it has been my happiness to go beyond him in one essential point: I have obliged my clergy to be submissive and quiet, whereas Louis XIV. suffered his to get the better of him."

A Prince who passed the day amidst military labours, and the night in digesting so many laws, in polishing so vast an empire, and in conducting so many immense works in an extent of two thousand leagues, required some relaxation. Entertainments had not then attained their present elegance and grandeur, and we are not to think it strange, that Peter should amuse himself with his farce 'of the Cardinals,' already spoken of, and some other diversions in that taste. Sometimes the jest pointed at the Church of Rome, to which he had a strong aversion; very excusable, however, in a Prince of the Greek sect, who is determined to be sole master in his dominions. Sometimes he exhibited the like interludes, the butt of which were his own country Monks, but the Monks of a long standing, exposing them, whilst he was reforming the novices.

We have already seen how the Czar, previously to the promulgation of his ecclesiastical institutes, had created one of his fools Pope, and turned the Conclave into a farce. This fool, whose name was Sotof, being in his eighty-fourth year, the Czar took a fancy that he should marry a woman of the same age, and the marriage be publicly celebrated. Four stutterers were the persons who invited the company; the bride was escorted by decrepid old men; the running footmen were four of the most corpulent fellows that could be found; the orchestra was placed on a waggon drawn by bears, who being goaded with iron spikes, their hideous roarings formed a bass suitable to the tunes played in the waggon. The nuptial benediction was given in the cathedral by a blind and deaf priest with spectacles on. The procession, the marriage, the wedding-feast, the undressing of the bride and bridegroom, the ceremony of putting

putting them to bed, all was of a piece with the buffoonery of this entertainment.

Such a spectacle may to us appear very grotesque; but is it more so than our Carnival revels? Is there any thing more elegant in seeing some hundreds of persons, with hideous masks and antic dresses, skipping about all night in a large room without speaking?

Our former exhibitions in France of the *fools*, the *ass*, and the *abbot of the cuckolds*, and those represented even in our churches, and by ecclesiastics; had they any thing more solemn? Did such plays as *The Foolish Merchant* afford more marks of genius?

C H A P. XV.

*Negotiations in the Isle of Aland. Death of Charles XII.
Peace of Neustadt.*

THE Czar's immense works, the regulations he extended through every part of his Empire, and the melancholy trial of his son, were not the only affairs which employed his attention; he was not only establishing the internal welfare of his dominions, but securing them from any foreign dangers. The war with Sweden still continued, but the expectation of a speedy peace had abated its violence.

It is certain, that in the year 1717, Cardinal Alberoni, Prime Minister to Philip V. King of Spain, and Baron Goertz, who had attained an absolute influence over Charles XII. had it in view to change the face of Europe, by reconciling Peter and Charles, dethroning the King of England George I. and restoring Stanislaus in Poland, whilst Alberoni was to put Philip, his master, in possession of the Regency of France. Goertz, as we have seen, had opened himself on this business to the Czar himself. Alberoni had entered on a negotiation with Prince Kourakin, the Czar's Ambassador at the Hague, through the channel of the Spanish Ambassador

ambassador Baretta Landi, a Mantuan, whom, like the Cardinal, Fortune had transported into Spain.

The aim of these foreigners was to throw every thing into confusion, for the interest of masters to whom they were not born subjects, or rather for their own. Charles XII. gave into all these projects, whilst the Czar went no further than to take them into consideration. Since the year 1716, what faint attacks he had made against Sweden, were rather to compel it to purchase peace by the cession of the Provinces he had conquered, than totally to crush it.

Goertz, by his activity, had already prevailed with the Czar to send Plenipotentiaries into the Isle of Aland, where the peace was to be negotiated. Bruce, a Scotchman, Master of the Ordnance in Russia, and the famous Osterman, who afterwards came to be at the head of affairs, arrived at the place of congress at the very time when the Czarowitz was put under arrest in Moscow. Goertz and Gillenburg, Plenipotentiaries from Charles XII. had been more expeditious, being both impatient to effect a reconciliation between that Prince and Peter, in order to be revenged of the King of England. What seemed strange was, that there should be a congress without a cessation of arms; for the Czar's fleet was still hovering about on the coast of Sweden, and took several prizes. The end of these hostilities was to forward the conclusion of a peace, so very necessary to Sweden, and consequently glorious to the victor.

Amidst these slight hostilities which still continued, one might easily perceive all the appearances of an approaching peace. The preliminaries were acts of generosity, and those have a greater effect than signatures. The Czar without any ransom released Marshal Birenfeld, whom he himself had taken prisoner; and the King of Sweden, in like manner, restored the Generals Trubetskoy and Golowin, who had been prisoners in Sweden ever since the battle of Narva.

The negotiations went smoothly on, and an universal change in the North seemed to be at hand. Goertz had proposed to the Czar the acquisition of Mecklenburg,

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the sovereign of which, Duke Charles, had married a daughter of Czar Ivan, Peter's eldest brother. The nobility of his country were in arms against him; but Peter had a considerable body of troops in Mecklenburg, and supported the Prince, whom he considered as his son-in-law; whilst the King of England, Elector of Hanover, espoused the cause of the nobility. Thus to secure Mecklenburg to Peter, who was already master of Livonia, and growing more powerful in Germany than any Elector, was another way of mortifying the King of England. The Duke of Mecklenburg's equivalent was to be the Dutchy of Courland, and a part of Prussia dismembered from Poland, where King Stanislaus was to be restored. Bremen and Verden were to return to Sweden. But it was impossible to dispossess George I. of those territories but by force of arms; the scheme therefore laid down by Goertz was, that Peter and Charles XII. united not only by the peace, but by an offensive alliance, should send an army into Scotland. Charles, after conquering Norway, was, in person, to land in Great-Britain, promising himself to set up a new King there, after having done the like in Poland. Cardinal Alberoni promised large subsidies both to Peter and Charles. The fall of King George I. would probably have drawn after it that of the Regent of France, his firm ally, who, being without any support, would be a victim to Spain elate with success, and to France incensed at his conduct. Alberoni and Goertz imagined themselves on the eve of throwing all Europe into universal confusion, when a random shot from the works of Frederickshall overturned those projects: Charles XII. was killed; the Spanish fleet was defeated by the English; the conspiracy fomented in France was discovered and prevented; Alberoni was driven out of Spain, and Goertz beheaded at Stockholm; and of all this formidable combination, the Czar alone retained his power: having avoided all formal engagements with any one, he gave law to all his neighbours.

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On the death of Charles XII. a great change took place in the government and measures of Sweden: he had been despotic, and his sister Ulrica was chosen Queen, on condition that she should solemnly renounce despotism. He was on the point of uniting himself with the Czar against England and his allies; and the new Swedish Government was glad to unite itself with these allies against the Czar.

Although the Congress of Aland was not dissolved, Sweden being now in alliance with England expected that the appearance of an English fleet in the Baltic would procure it a more advantageous peace. Some Hanoverian troops also entered the Duke of Mecklenburg's territories; but the Czar's forces obliged them to retire.

Peter had likewise an army in Poland, which at the same time kept in awe both the partizans of Augustus and those of Stanislaus; and as to Sweden, he had a fleet ready either to make a descent on its coasts, or compel the Government no longer to protract the Congress of Aland. This fleet consisted of twelve large ships of the line, and several second-rates, besides frigates and galleys. The Czar still acted as Vice-Admiral, under Admiral Apraxin.

A squadron of this fleet soon signalized itself in an obstinate engagement with a Swedish squadron, taking a ship and two frigates. Peter, who omitted no kind of encouragement to a navy of his own formation, distributed above 60,000 livres of our money among the officers of the squadron, besides gold medals, and even conferred on them some honorary distinctions.

At that very time, an English fleet under Admiral Norris came into the Baltic, for the protection of Sweden. Peter confiding in his new navy, instead of being intimidated, kept the sea; and sent a message to the English Admiral, asking peremptorily, whether "he came merely as a friend to Sweden, or as an enemy to Russia." The Admiral returned for answer, "that as yet he had no positive orders." This equivocal answer did not hinder Peter from keeping the sea.

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The English, indeed, were come only to shew themselves, that by such a mark of their friendship for Sweden, the Czar might be induced to offer the Swedes such terms of peace as should be agreeable. Admiral Norris went to Copenhagen, and the Russians making some descent in Sweden, even in the very neighbourhood of Stockholm, destroyed several copper forges, and burned near fifteen thousand houses, which, with other damages, made the Swedes wish for an immediate peace.

The new Queen of Sweden hastened the renewal of the negotiations; and Osterman himself was sent to Stockholm; yet affairs continued in this fluctuating state during the whole year 1719.

The year following, the Prince of Hesse, who had married the Queen of Sweden, and was now King in his own right, by his consort's cession, began his reign with sending a Minister to Petersburgh, to forward this so-much-desired peace; but amidst these negotiations, the war still continued.

The English fleet joined the Swedish, but without committing any hostilities. There was indeed no open rupture between Russia and England. Admiral Norris offered his master's mediation; but his offers were made sword in hand, and this very circumstance served to retard the negotiations. The coasts of Sweden, and those of the new Russian Provinces along the Baltic, are so situated, that the former may be easily insulted, whereas an attack on the latter is scarcely practicable. An instance of this was, when Admiral Norris having thrown off the mask, in conjunction with the Swedes, at length landed in Narguen, a small Island of Esthonia belonging to the Czar, and all they burned was a hut; but the

Russians about the same time making a descent near Vasa, burnt forty villages, and above a thousand houses, with inexpressible damage to the whole country. Prince Gallitzin boarded four Swedish frigates, and carried them; so that the English Admiral seemed to have come only to see with his own eyes how formidable the Czar had made his navy. Norris did

did little more than barely shew himself on those seas, where the four Swedish frigates were carried in triumph to Cronstot harbour, opposite to Petersburgh. The English might be said to have done too much, if only mediators; and too little, if enemies.

At length the new King of Sweden asked a suspension of arms; and the menaces of England having hitherto proved ineffectual, he had recourse to the mediation of the Duke of Orleans, Regent of France; who, being in alliance both with Russia and Sweden, had the honour of bringing about the long negotiated reconciliation. He sent Campredon Plenipotentiary to Petersburgh, and from thence to Stockholm. The Congress was held at Neustadt, a small town in Finland; but the Czar could not hear of a cessation of hostilities till all things should be settled for signing. He had an army in Finland, ready to over-run the rest of that province; his squadrons kept the coast in such continual alarms, that there was a necessity of negotiating according to his pleasure. At length the terms he imposed were agreed to; all his conquests, from the frontiers of Courland to the extremity of the Gulf of Finland, were ceded to him for ever, with a tract of the whole length of the country of Kexholm, and that border of Finland itself which from the neighbourhood of Kexholm extends northward. Thus he remained the acknowledged sovereign of Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, Carelia, the country of Wiburg, and the neighbouring Islands, as Ozel, Dago, Mone, and many others, which farther secured to him the dominion of the sea: the whole formed an extent of three hundred common leagues in unequal breadths, and thus formed a large kingdom, which might be considered as the reward of the toils and perils he had been exposed to during twenty years.

This peace of Neustadt was signed on the 10th of Sept. 1721, by his Minister Osterman, and General Bruce.

The Czar's satisfaction was the greater, as, being now freed from the necessity of keeping on foot large armies on the side of Sweden, and without any thing to apprehend

prehend from England and his neighbours, he saw himself in a condition of giving up himself entirely to the reformation of his empire, which he had already so happily begun, and to promote trade and arts, which he had introduced with such unparalleled application and judgment.

In the first transports of his joy, he wrote to his Plenipotentiaries: "You have drawn up the treaty as if we had done it ourselves, and had sent it you, to cause it to be signed by the Swedes: this glorious event will be ever present to our memory." The people expressed their satisfaction by rejoicings throughout the whole Empire, and especially at Petersburg. The triumphal spectacles which the Czar had exhibited during the war, were not comparable to these peaceable rejoicings, in which all ranks concurred with a degree of enthusiasm. The most glorious of all his triumphs was this peace; and what proved still more pleasing than those pompous spectacles, was the release of all delinquents in prison: on this occasion an infinite number of unhappy wretches were released from their fetters; none being excepted from this general pardon but those who were confined for robbery, murder, or high treason; and the abolition of all arrears of imposts due to the Czar's treasury, throughout the whole Empire, till the day of the proclamation of the peace. It was then that the Senate conferred on Peter the titles of *Great, Emperor, and Father of his Country*. Chancellor Golofkin made a speech in the name of all the orders of the State in the Cathedral, after which the Senators shouted three times, *Long live our Emperor and our Father!* and these acclamations were followed by those of the people. On the very same day he was congratulated by the Ministers of France, Germany, Poland, Denmark, and Holland, who addressed him in his new titles, and thus acknowledged as Emperor a Prince who had been stiled such by the Dutch ever since the battle of Pul-towa. The titles of *Father* and *Great* were appellations of real honour, and to which he had an incontestable right; that of Emperor was only an honorary denomination,

mination, given by custom to the Emperor of Germany, as titular King of the Romans. These appellations require some time to be brought into formal use, in foreign courts; but this is a mere matter of ceremony. Soon after Peter was acknowledged Emperor by all Europe, except Poland, where discord still prevailed; and by the Pope, whose suffrage is grown quite insignificant; since, as nations have opened their eyes, the Court of Rome has lost all its consequence.

C H A P. XVI.

Of the Conquests in Persia.

THE situation of Russia is such, that it has necessarily some measures to observe with all the nations dwelling about the fiftieth degree of latitude. When it was badly governed, it was a prey to the Tartars, Swedes, and Poles, successively; and under a resolute and steady government, it was formidable to all nations. Peter had begun his reign by making an advantageous treaty with China. He had waged war both against the Swedes and Turks at the same time; but the close of his military career was an expedition into Persia.

Persia was then falling into that distressful condition in which it still continues in our time. The reader who is acquainted with the Thirty Years War in Germany, the time of the League, the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, the reigns of Charles VI. and King John in France, the Civil Wars in England, the long devastation of the whole Russian Empire by the Tartars, or the invasion of China by these people, will have some idea of the calamities with which Persia has so long been afflicted.

A weak and indolent Prince, and a powerful and enterprising subject, are sufficient to plunge a whole kingdom into this abyss of desolation. Shah Hussein, Sophi of Persia, and a descendant of the great Shah Abbas, was then on the throne. This Prince gave himself up to

voluptuousness, while his Prime Minister committed innumerable oppressions under the toleration of this weak sovereign: this was the source of forty years carnage.

Persia, like Turkey, has Provinces differently governed; it has subjects, vassals, and tributary Princes. There are also several tribes or nations to whom the court paid a tribute under the name of pension or subsidy; such as those of Daghestan, who dwell among the branches of Mount Caucasus, to the west of the Caspian Sea: and these were once a part of the ancient Albania; for the names and limits of all these tribes are changed: they are now called the Lefgis, and are a highland nation, rather under the protection than the dominion of Persia, receiving subsidies to defend those frontiers.

At the other extremity of the Empire, towards India, was the Prince of Candahar, who commanded a military body called the Afghans. This Prince was a vassal of Persia, on the same footing as the Hospodars of Wallachia and Moldavia are vassals of the Turkish Empire. This vassalage, which is not hereditary, has a great affinity with the fiefs erected in Europe by those kinds of Tartars who overthrew the Roman Empire. This militia of Afghans, under the Prince of Candahar, was no other than that of those Albanians who lived along the coast of the Caspian Sea, intermixed with Circassians and Georgians, and may be compared to the ancient Mamelucs, who made a conquest of Egypt. It is by corruption they are called Afghans. This corps of militia had been carried into India by Timur, or Tamerlane, and settled in this Province of Candahar, which sometimes belonged to India, and sometimes to Persia. It was by these Afghans and Lefgis that the revolution began.

Myr Veitz, or Mirivitz, Collector of the Tribute in the Province, assassinated the Prince of Candahar, and gaining over the militia, continued master of that Province till his death, in 1717. His brother, by paying a slender tribute to the Persian Court, quietly succeeded him; but Myr Veitz's son, who had all the ambition of his father,

father, murdered his uncle, and was ambitious of becoming a Conqueror. This young man's name was Myr Mahmoud, though in Europe he was known only by that of his father, who had begun the rebellion. Myr Mahmoud reinforced his Afghans with a body of all the Guebres he could collect together: these Guebres were descended from the ancient Persians formerly dispersed by the caliph Omar, and still retaining all their zeal for the religion of the Magi, so celebrated under Cyrus, were of course secret enemies to the modern Persians. Thus strengthened, he marched into the heart of Persia at the head of a hundred thousand fighting men.

At the same time, the Lefgis or Albanians, whose subsidies through the misfortunes of the times had not been paid, came down in arms from their mountains; so that the conflagration blazed at both ends of the Empire, and reached the capital.

These Lefgis laid waste the whole country along the western coast of the Caspian Sea to Derbent, or the *Iron Gate*. In this tract which they ravaged, is the city of Schamachia, fifteen leagues from the sea, said to have been the residence of Cyrus, and accordingly by the Greeks called Cyropolis; for it is only through the Greeks that we know the names and situation of these countries: and as the Persians never had a Prince whom they called Cyrus, much less had they a town named Cyropolis. It was in this manner that the Jews, who when established in Alexandria set up for authors, invented the city of Scythopolis, saying it was built by the Scythians, and stood near Judea; as if the Scythians and the ancient Jews would have given Greek names to towns.

Schamachia was a city of great wealth, the neighbouring Armenians carrying on an immense trade there; and Peter had, at his own expence, very lately settled in it a company of Russian merchants, which was beginning to flourish. The Lefgis surprising the city pillaged it, put to the sword all the Russians who traded under the protection of Shah Hussein, rifled their

houses, the loss of which was estimated at near four millions of rubles.

Peter immediately sent to require satisfaction from the Emperor Hussein, who was still defending his crown, and to the tyrant Mahmoud, who had usurped it. To do him justice was out of Hussein's power, and Mahmoud would not; therefore Peter resolved to be his own avenger, and take advantage of the national confusion.

Myr Mahmoud was pushing his conquests in Persia, and the Sophi being informed that the Emperor of Russia was preparing to enter the Caspian Sea, with a view of revenging the massacre of his subjects at Schamachia, secretly intreated him, by means of an Armenian, at the same time, to come and relieve Persia.

Peter had long since entertained a design of making himself master of the Caspian Sea by a powerful navy, and of bringing through his dominions the trade of Persia and part of India. He had taken care to have the depths of that sea sounded, the coasts surveyed, and exact charts laid down. He set out for Persia on the 15th of May, 1722, his wife accompanying him in this as in his former expedition. He fell down the Volga as far as the city of Astracan, from whence he hastened to superintend the continuation of the canals for joining the Caspian, Baltic, and White Seas; a work which has been partly accomplished in his grandson's reign.

Whilst he was conducting these works, his infantry and ammunition had already reached the Caspian Sea. His army consisted of twenty-two thousand foot, nine thousand dragoons, and fifteen thousand Cossacks, besides three thousand sailors on board the several vessels, who, in making a descent, could act as soldiers. The cavalry marched by land through deserts which are frequently without water; and beyond those deserts, they were to pass the mountains of Caucasus, where three hundred men might keep a whole army at bay; but Persia was in such anarchy, that any thing might be attempted.

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The Czar sailed above a hundred leagues southward from Astracan, as far as the little town of Andrehoff. The reader may be surprised at meeting with the name of Andrew on the coast of the Hircanian Sea; but the founders of it were Georgians, who formerly professed Christianity, and the Persians had fortified it; however, it was easily taken. From thence the Russian army advanced by land into the Province of Daghestan; and manifestoes in the Persian and Russian language were every where dispersed. This was necessary, to avoid giving any offence to the Ottoman Porte, which besides its subjects, the Circassians and Georgians, bordering on this country, had in these parts some considerable vassals, who had lately put themselves under its protection.

The most powerful of these vassals was Mahmoud D'Utmich, who assumed the title, and had the presumption to attack the Czar's troops. He was totally defeated, and the public account says, *his country was made a bonfire.*

Peter soon reached Derbent, by the Persians Sep. 14. and Turks called Demir Capi, i. e. *Iron Gate*, 1722. because it had formerly such a gate towards the south: it is a long narrow town, joining at the upper part of it to a steep branch of the Caucasus; and its walls, at the other end, are washed by the sea, which, in stormy weather, is often known to break over them. These walls may be justly accounted one of the wonders of antiquity; they are forty feet high and six broad; flanked with square towers at fifty feet distance. The whole work seems one single piece. It is built of a kind of brown free-stone, and a mortar of pounded shells, and the whole forms a mass harder than marble itself: it is accessible by sea, but on the land side seems impregnable. There are still the ruins of an old wall, like that of China, unquestionably built in the times of the earliest antiquity: it extended from the Caspian to the Black Sea, and probably was a rampart thrown up by the ancient Kings of Persia against those numerous hordes

of barbarians who inhabited the country between those two seas.

The town of Derbent, according to a Persian tradition, was partly repaired and fortified by Alexander. Arian and Quintus Curtius say, that Alexander did actually rebuild this city: they add, indeed, that it was on the banks of the Tanais; but that is, because in their time the Greeks gave the name of Tanais to the river Cyrus, which runs near the town of Derbent. To suppose that Alexander built the gate of the Caspian Sea on a river which discharges itself into the Pontus Euxinus, would imply a contradiction.

There were formerly three or four other Caspian gates at different passages, and all apparently built for the same end; the nations west, east, and north of this sea, having ever been formidable Barbarians; and from these parts principally issued those swarms of conquerors who subdued Asia and Europe.

I beg leave to remark here, how greatly authors have in all ages taken a delight in deceiving mankind, and how much they have preferred an ostentatious display of eloquence to truth. Quintus Curtius puts into the mouth of some Scythians whom he is pleased to introduce in his history, an admirable speech, full of philosophy, moderation, and magnanimity; as if the Tartars of those climates had been so many sages, and Alexander had not been appointed General by the Greeks against the King of Persia, who at that time ruled over a considerable part of South Scythia and India. Rhetoricians, with a view to imitate Quintus Curtius, have laboured to persuade us, that these rapacious and sanguinary savages of Mount Caucasus and the deserts are the most just and hospitable of men; and Alexander the avenger of Greece, and the conqueror of him who was for enslaving it, they represent as a robber, roving about the world, in defiance of all reason and justice.

They do not recollect that those Tartars distinguished themselves only by rapine and destruction, and that Alexander built towns in their own country. It is in this that I would undertake to compare Peter the Great with

Alexander;

Alexander; not less active, not less a patron of useful arts, and to legislation much more attentive: like him, he was for giving a turn to the commerce of the world, and built or repaired as many towns as Alexander.

The Governor of Derbent, on the approach of the Russian army, declined a standing siege; and whether he thought the place not tenable against such a force, or that he preferred the protection of the Emperor Peter to that of the tyrant Mahmoud, brought the silver keys of the city and castle to the Czar; so that the Russians quietly took possession of Derbent, and encamped along the sea-shore.

The usurper Mahmoud, who had already made himself master of a great part of Persia, had neglected nothing to be beforehand with the Czar, and hindering him from getting into Derbent: he raised the neighbouring Tartars, and hastened thither himself; but Derbent was already in the Czar's hands.

Peter was at this time prevented from extending his conquests, the vessels with provisions, stores, horses, and recruits, having been wrecked near Astracan; and the unfavourable season was come on, so that he returned to Moscow, and entered it in triumph. According Jan. 5. to custom, he gave a formal account of his ex- 1723. pedition to the Vice-Czar Romadonofsky, continuing to the last this singular comedy, which his Elogium, pronounced in the Academy of Sciences at Paris, says, "should have been acted before all the Monarchs of the earth."

Persia was still divided between Hussein and the usurper Mahmoud. The former sought the support of the Emperor of Russia; the latter feared him as an avenger, who would wrest from him all the fruits of his rebellion. Mahmoud used every endeavour to stir up the Ottoman Porte against the Czar. For this purpose he sent an Embassy to Constantinople; and the Daghestan Princes under the Grand Seignior's protection, having been dispossessed of their dominions by the arms of Russia, solicited revenge. The Divan were under apprehensions for Georgia, which the Turks considered as a part of their dominions.

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The Grand Seignior was on the point of declaring war, when the Courts of Vienna and Paris diverted him from that measure. The Emperor of Germany declared, that if the Turks attacked Russia, he should be obliged to join in its defence; and the Marquis de Bonac, the French Ambassador at Constantinople, seconded the German menaces: he convinced the Porte, that their very interest required them not to suffer the rebellious usurper of Persia to set an example of dethroning Sovereigns, and that the Russian Empire had done no more than what the Grand Seignior should have done.

The rebel Myr Mahmoud, during these critical negotiations, had advanced to the gates of Derbent, and laid waste all the neighbouring countries, in order to distress the Russians. That part of antient Hircania now known by the name of Ghilan, was not spared; which so irritated the people, that they voluntarily put themselves under the protection of the Russians, whom they considered as their deliverers.

Herein they followed the example of the Sophi himself. This unfortunate Monarch had sent an Ambassador to implore the assistance of Peter the Great; but this Ambassador was scarcely on the road, when the rebel Myr Mahmoud seized on Ispahan and his master's person.

Thamaseb, son to the dethroned and captive Sophi, escaped the tyrant's violence; and getting together some troops, he fought a battle with the usurper. He was not less intent than his father in urging Peter the Great to protect him, and sent to the Ambassador the like instructions which Shah Hussein had given.

Though this Persian Ambassador, named Ihmael-Beg, was not yet arrived, his negotiation had succeeded. On his landing at Astracan, he heard that General Matufkin was on his march with fresh troops to reinforce the Daghestan army. The town of Baku or Bachu, from which the Persians called the Caspian Sea the sea of Bachu, was not yet taken. He gave the Russian General a letter to the inhabitants, exhorting them, in his master's name, to submit to the Emperor of Russia: the Ambassador continued his journey to Petersburg, and

and General Matufkin went and sat down before the city of Bachu. The Persian Ambassador arrived at the Czar's Court at the same time as the news of August, the surrender of that place. 1723.

Bachu is situate near Schamachia, where the Russian factors had been massacred; it is neither so opulent nor so well peopled as Schamachia, but is very famous for its naphtha, with which it supplies all Persia. Never was treaty sooner concluded than that of Ishmael-Beg. The Emperor Peter, desirous of revenging the death of his subjects, engaged to march an army into Persia, Sept. in order to assist the Sophi Thamasb against the 1723. usurper; and the new Sophi ceded to him, besides the cities of Bachu and Derbent, the Provinces of Ghilan, Mazandaran, and Astarabad.

Ghilan, as we have already noticed, is the southern Hircania; Mazandaran, which is contiguous to it, is the country of the Mardi; Astarabad borders on Mazandaran; and these were the three principal Provinces of the antient Kings of the Medes: so that Peter by his arms and treaties found himself master of Cyrus's first Monarchy.

It seems right to observe, that in the articles of this convention the price of necessaries to be furnished to the army was settled. That of a camel was fixed at twelve rubles; bread was to be sold at five, and beef at about six French farthings a-pound. This regulation was an evident proof of the great plenty which prevailed in that country of real goods, which are those of the earth, and of the scarcity of money, which is only a good by compact.

Such was the calamitous state of Persia, that the unhappy Sophi Thamasb, wandering about his kingdom, pursued by the rebel Mahmoud, the murderer of his father and brothers, was reduced to supplicate both Russia and Turkey at the same time, that they would take one part of his dominions to preserve the other for him.

It was agreed between the Emperor Peter, the Sultan Achmet III. and the Sophi Thamasb, that Russia should hold

hold the three Provinces above-mentioned, and that the Ottoman Porte should have Casbin, Tauris, and Erivan, besides what it should take from the usurper: thus was this fine kingdom dismembered by the Turks, Russians, and the Persians themselves.

Peter's dominions now extended from the farthermost extremity of the Baltic to beyond the southern bounds of the Caspian Sea; and Persia continued to be the prey of revolutions and ravages: from wealth and politeness it was plunged into wretchedness and barbarism, whilst Russia, from indigence and rudeness, rose to opulence and politeness. One single man, by his active and resolute genius, raised his country; whilst another, by his weakness and indolence, occasioned the fall of his.

We are as yet but very ill informed of the particulars of the several calamities which have so long desolated the kingdom of Persia. We have been told, that the unfortunate Shah Hussein stooped so low as, with his own hand, to put his mitre or crown on the head of the usurper Mahmoud. It has been said, that Mahmoud afterwards fell into an alienation of mind: thus a lunatic and an idiot decided the fate of so many thousands of men. We are farther told, that Mahmoud, in one of his fits of madness, killed with his own hands all Shah Hussein's sons and nephews, to the number of a hundred; and that he ordered the Gospel of St. John to be laid on his head, and read over to him, by way of purification, and as a charm to relieve him from his disorder. These Persian tales have been circulated by our Monks, and printed at Paris.

This tyrant, who had assassinated his own uncle, fell by the hands of his own nephew, Eschreff, who ruled with all the cruelty and tyranny of Mahmoud.

Shah Thamaseb was still imploring the assistance of Russia. This is the same Thamaseb, or Thamas, who was afterwards restored by the famous Kouli Khan, and since dethroned by his restorer.

These revolutions, together with the subsequent wars between Russia and the Turks, in which the former had the advantage, and the evacuation of the three Persian

fian Provinces, as a dead weight on Russia, do not belong to the History of Peter the Great, not having taken place till several years after his death. It is sufficient to say, that he terminated his military career with annexing to his Empire three Provinces on the side of Persia, after having just added three others towards the frontiers of Sweden.

C H A P. XVII.

Coronation of the Empress Catharine I. — Death of Peter the Great.

PETER, at his return from his Persian expedition, found himself more than ever the arbiter of the North. After having been eighteen years the declared enemy of Charles XII. he openly took into his protection the family of that Prince. He invited to his Court the Duke of Holstein, Charles the XIIth's nephew, to whom he intended to marry his eldest daughter, and from that very time prepared to assert his rights on the Dutchy of Holstein-Sleswick, and even bound himself to it in a treaty, which he concluded with Feb. Sweden. 1724.

He continued the works which he had begun throughout the whole extent of his dominions, even to the extremity of Kamtschatka; and for the better conduct of these establishments, he erected at Petersburgh an Academy of Sciences. Arts and trades flourished on every side, manufactures were encouraged, the navy augmented, the army well clothed and paid, the laws well observed: he enjoyed his glory in peace; he was desirous of sharing it in an extraordinary manner with her, who, by retrieving the disaster of the campaign on the Pruth, had, he said, contributed to that very glory.

It was at Moscow that he caused his consort May 18, Catharine to be solemnly crowned, in presence of the Dutchess of Courland, daughter to his elder brother,

and of the Duke of Holstein, his intended son-in-law. The manifesto published by him on this occasion, is well worthy of notice: it mentions the custom of several Christian Monarchs to have their spouses crowned, producing instances of the Emperors Basilides, Justinus, and Heraclius, and Leo the Philosopher. The Emperor enlarges on Catharine's important services, and especially in the Turkish war, when his army, says he, was reduced to twenty-two thousand men, and had above two hundred thousand to fight against. In this ordinance there was not a word of the Empress's succeeding him on the throne; the people, however, were prepared for it by this ceremony, as not customary in Russia. A circumstance which might farther cause Catharine to be considered as the presumptive successor, is, that the Czar himself, on the coronation-day, walked before her on foot, as Captain of a new company which he created on that occasion, with the title of the Empress's Knights.

When the procession had reached the church, Peter himself placed the crown on her head, when she was for falling down on her knees, but he raised her; and at coming out of the cathedral, the sceptre and globe were carried before her. The festival was in every respect becoming an Emperor. The magnificence Peter displayed on solemn occasions, was no less extraordinary than the simplicity he affected in private life.

After the coronation of his wife, he determined on concluding the marriage of his eldest daughter, Anna Petrowna, with the Duke of Holstein. This Princess had many of her father's features; she was of a majestic stature, with great beauty. The marriage
 Nov. 24, 1724. was celebrated, but without much shew, for Peter now found his health very much impaired; and domestic vexation, which perhaps heightened the distemper of which he died, rendered the pomp and tumult of entertainments little suitable to his latter days.

Catharine had a young Chamberlain, named Moens de la Croix *, of a Flemish family, but born in Russia;

* Count Bassewitz's Memoirs.

he had a fine person, and his sister, Madame de Bale, was Mistress of the Robes to the Empress: these two might be said to govern her household. An accusation was brought against them for receiving presents, and they were imprisoned, and brought to a trial. A prohibition had been issued so long ago as the year 1714, forbidding all persons in employments to take presents, under penalty of infamy and death; and this prohibition had been several times renewed.

The brother and sister were convicted, and all who had either purchased or rewarded their services were named in the sentence, except the Duke of Holstein and his Minister, Count Bassewitz. Perhaps what presents this Prince made to those who had contributed to bring about his marriage, were not looked on as criminal.

Moens was sentenced to be beheaded, and his sister, the Empress's favourite, to receive eleven strokes with the knout. This lady's two sons, one a chamberlain, the other a page, were degraded, and sent away to the army in Persia, as common soldiers.

These severities, however shocking they may appear to us, were perhaps necessary in a country where the support of the laws seemed to require a tremendous rigour. The Empress interceded for the lady's pardon, which the Czar refused; and was so offended at the request, that striking a Venetian pier-glass, he said to his wife, "Thou seest that one blow of my hand can reduce that glass to the dust, whence it came." Catharine, with a look of submissive grief, said, "Well, you have broke what served as an ornament to your palace, and do you think it will make it the finer?" These words, with the air which accompanied them, appeased the Emperor; yet all the favour which his wife could obtain was, that her Mistress of the Robes should receive only five strokes instead of eleven.

This is a fact which I should not relate, were it not attested by a Minister, who was an eye-witness; and his presents to the brother and sister was perhaps one of the principal causes of their misfortune. It was from this, that

that some who put the worst construction on every thing, had the confidence to give out, that Catharine shortened the days of a husband, whose fits of passion filled her with such terrors as overcame her gratitude for his favours.

What served to strengthen these cruel suspicions was, Catharine's sending for her Mistress of the Robes immediately after her husband's decease, and restoring her to her former favour. The duty of an historian is to relate those public reports, which, in all ages and all States, have broke out on the death of Princes carried off by a premature death, as if nature of itself could not destroy us; but the same duty requires, that he should convince his reader how presumptuous and ill-founded such reports were.

There is an immense difference between the momentary vexation arising from a husband's passion or severity, and the desperate resolution of poisoning a husband and a master, to whom we owe every thing; and the danger of such an attempt would not have been less than the guilt. There was at that time a numerous party which favoured the son of the unfortunate Czarowitz, in opposition to Catharine; yet neither this party, nor any person belonging to the court, ever suspected Catharine; and the reports which went about, were only the surmises of some superficial foreigners, who, without any reason, wantonly indulged that wretched pleasure of imputing the worst of crimes to those, whose interest it is thought to commit them. It is a great question, how far this was Catharine's interest: it was not a fixed point, that she was to succeed Peter; she had been crowned only as consort to the Sovereign, and not as future Sovereign on his decease.

Peter, in his manifesto, had spoken of this festival only as a ceremony, and not as conveying a right to the throne. He quoted the examples of the Roman Emperors who had caused their consorts to be crowned, yet none of them were ever invested with the sovereignty. Even at the very time of Peter's illness, it was the opinion of many, that the Princess Anna Petrowna was to succeed him jointly with the Duke of Holstein, her spouse;

spouse; others surmised that the Emperor would nominate his grandson as successor: thus, so far was it from being Catharine's interest that the Emperor should be sent out of the world, that his preservation was of all things most necessary to her.

It is well known, that Peter had for a long time been troubled with an abscess and a retention of urine, attended with very severe pains. The mineral waters of Olonitz, and others recommended to him, had little or no effect; so that he was observed to decline sensibly from the beginning of the year 1724. His application, which he could not be persuaded to abate, so increased his distemper, that his condition soon appeared irretrievable.

He complained of a burning heat which kept him almost in a continual delirium. He was once Jan. 1725, for availing himself of a short interval of ease, by writing; but the letters were so confused and out of shape, that, after much difficulty, only these words in the Russian language could be decyphered, *Restore all to* *. He called for the Princess Anna Petrowna to dictate to her; but when she presented herself before his bed, he had lost the use of his speech, and soon after fell into an agony, which lasted sixteen hours. The Empress Catharine had not left his bolster for three nights, and in her arms he expired on the 28th of January, about four o'clock in the morning.

His corpse was removed into the great hall of the palace, followed by the Imperial family, the Senate, all persons of distinction, and an immense crowd of people; he was there laid on a bed of state, and every body admitted to kiss his hand till the day of his interment, which was the 21st of March, 1725, N. S.

It has been asserted in print, and believed, that he had by will appointed Catharine his successor in the Empire; but the truth is, that he never made a will, or, at least, no will ever appeared; a very strange omission in a legislator, and which indicates, that he did not think his distemper mortal.

* Count Bassewitz's Memoirs.

At the time of his death, it was still an uncertainty who would fill the throne. He had a grandson, the issue of the unfortunate Alexis; and his eldest daughter, the Dutchess of Holstein, was also living. The faction which favoured young Peter was very considerable for numbers and power; but Prince Menzikoff, who had ever been connected with the Empress Catharine, took care to prevent any dangers from either of the parties. When Peter was near expiring, Menzikoff urged the Empress to step into a room, where her friends were already assembled; the treasure was removed to the citadel, the guards secured, and Prince Menzikoff had gained over the Archbishop of Novogorod. With these and Macaroff, a private Secretary, Catharine held a Council, at which the Duke of Holstein's Minister assisted.

The Empress left this Council to return to her dying consort, whose last sighs were breathed in her arms. Immediately the Senators and the officers of state hastened to the palace, where the Empress made a speech to them. Menzikoff answered it in the name of the whole assembly. For form's sake they withdrew, to deliberate farther out of the Empress's presence. Theophanes, Archbishop of Plesco, declared that, the evening before the coronation, the Emperor publicly said, he crowned her purely that she might reign after him; a proclamation was signed, and Catharine succeeded the very day of his decease.

Peter the Great was lamented in Russia by all those whom he had formed; and the generation which followed that of the sticklers for antient customs, soon came to revere him as their father. Foreigners, on seeing that all his establishments have been continued as highly useful, are filled with admiration of him, and have acknowledged, that he was rather inspired by an extraordinary wisdom, than actuated by a fondness of doing wonderful things. All Europe allows that he loved glory, but that he placed it in doing good; that his faults never diminished his great qualities; that if in him the Man had his blemishes, the Monarch was uniformly great. He forced nature in every thing, in his subjects, in himself, by land and by water; but the violence

violence he put upon it, was for its embellishment. The arts which, with his own hand, he transplanted into countries, several of which were at that time in a savage state, have by their improvement borne testimony to his genius, and immortalized his memory: at present they seem as original natives of those countries whither he carried them. Laws, police, politics, military discipline, navigation, commerce, manufactures, sciences, arts, all have been brought to perfection, answerable to his views; and by a singularity hitherto unexampled, four female Sovereigns, who have successively ascended the throne after him, have kept up all that he completed, and completed every thing that he began.

The Palace has indeed experienced several revolutions since his death, but the State has invariably continued on the same footing. The splendor of this Empire increased under Catharine I.; under Anna Petrowna, it triumphed over the Turks and Swedes; it entered Prussia and part of Pomerania under Elizabeth; and hitherto it has enjoyed peace, and has seen the arts and sciences flourish under Catharine II.

I leave it to the national historians to enter into the details of all the foundations, establishments, laws, wars, and enterprizes of Peter the Great. In celebrating those who were assisting to this Monarch in his military and political labours, they will encourage their countrymen: it is sufficient for a foreigner, a disinterested admirer of merit, to have attempted to shew what that great man was, who learned from Charles XII. to overcome him; who twice left his country, to govern it the better; who worked with his own hands at almost every necessary trade, in order to set an example to his subjects; and who was the Founder and Father of his Empire.

The Sovereigns of States long since civilized will say to themselves, "If in the frozen climates of antient Scythia a man, aided only by his own genius, has performed such great things, what ought we not to do in countries where the accumulated labours of many ages have made every thing easy to us?"

[38]

A P P E N D I X.

ORIGINAL PAPERS,

ACCORDING TO THE

TRANSLATIONS made by ORDER of PETER I.

Condemnation of Prince Alexis, June 24, 1718.

BY virtue of the express order of his Czarish Majesty, signed with his own hand the 13th of June last, for the trial of the Czarowitz Alexis Petrowitz, for his offences and crimes against his Father and Sovereign, the Ministers, Senators, military and civil Officers, whose names are hereunto subscribed, after several meetings held in the Chamber of the senatorial Regency at Petersburg, having repeatedly heard the originals and extracts of the depositions against him formally read, as well as the admonitory letters from his Czarish Majesty to the Czarowitz, and his answers to them, written with his own hand; likewise the informations, confessions, and declarations of the Czarowitz, both those written with his own hand, and those verbally made by him to his Lord and Father, and before the

underwritten, appointed by his Czarish Majesty's authority to sit on the present important affair; have declared, that though, according to the laws of the Russian Empire, it never has appertained to them, being natural subjects of the sovereign dominion of his Czarish Majesty, to take cognizance of an affair of this nature, which, from its importance, depends solely on the absolute will of the Sovereign, whose power is derived wholly from God, and not limited by any law; yet in obedience to the said order of his Czarish Majesty, their Sovereign, which grants them this liberty, and after mature reflections, conscientiously, without fear or flattery, or respect of persons, having before their eyes the divine laws, both of the Old and New Testament, applicable to the present case, the sacred writings of the Gospel and of the Apostles, as well as the canons and decrees of Councils, the authority of the venerable Fathers and Doctors of the Church; besides the additional light received from the sentiments of the Archbishops and Clergy assembled at Peterburgh by order of his Czarish Majesty, a duplicate of which is hereunto annexed, and conforming themselves to the general law of all Russia, and particularly to the constitutions of this Empire, to the military laws and statutes which correspond with the laws of many other states, especially those of the antient Greek and Roman Emperors, and of different Christian Princes; we the underwritten, having put the case to the vote, unanimously, and without any contradiction, agree, and do hereby resolve, "That the Czarowitz, Alexis Petrowitz, deserves death, for his many capital crimes and offences against his Sovereign and his Father, being the son and subject of his Czarish Majesty:" so that, although his Czarish Majesty, in a letter sent to the Czarowitz by M. Tolstoy, a Member of the Privy Council, and Captain Romanzoff, dated from Spa, the 10th of July, 1717, promised that he would forgive his elopement on his returning of his own accord and willingly, as the Czarowitz himself, with thanks, acknowledged in his answer to that letter, written at Naples the 4th of October, 1717; wherein he says,

says, that he thanked his Czarish Majesty for the pardon which related only to his elopement; he is since become unworthy of it, by his continual opposition to his father's pleasure, and other transgressions repeatedly continued, as is set forth at large in the manifesto published by his Czarish Majesty the 3d of February of the present year; and because, among other things, he did not return of his own accord.

And though his Czarish Majesty, on the Czarowitz's coming to Moscow, with a written confession of his crimes, in which he entreated forgiveness, had pity on him, as is natural for a father towards his son; and though at the audience to which the Czar admitted him in the hall of the Castle on the same day, the 3d of February, his Czarish Majesty promised to pardon all his offences; yet this promise was made in the presence of a numerous assembly, with this express proviso, that the Czarowitz should, without any exception or reservation, declare and make known all that he had committed or devised against his Czarish Majesty till that day; and that he should discover all those who had been his advisers and accomplices; and in general, all who knew any thing of his designs and practice; but that on any concealment of persons or things, the pardon should be null, as if it had never been granted: all which the Czarowitz consented to, and received, at least in appearance, with tears of gratitude; and he promised, on oath, to declare every thing, without any reserve; in confirmation of which he kissed the Cross and Holy Gospel in the cathedral.

His Czarish Majesty likewise signified the same thing to him again, with his own hands, the next day, in the interrogatory articles inserted above, which he ordered to be delivered to him, having written at the head of them what follows:

“ As you received your pardon yesterday on condition
 “ that you should declare all the circumstances of your
 “ elopement, and whatever relates thereto; but that
 “ if you concealed any thing, you should be deprived
 “ of life; and as you have already made some verbal

underwritten, appointed by his Czarish Majesty's authority to sit on the present important affair; have declared, that though, according to the laws of the Russian Empire, it never has appertained to them, being natural subjects of the sovereign dominion of his Czarish Majesty, to take cognizance of an affair of this nature, which, from its importance, depends solely on the absolute will of the Sovereign, whose power is derived wholly from God, and not limited by any law; yet in obedience to the said order of his Czarish Majesty, their Sovereign, which grants them this liberty, and after mature reflections, conscientiously, without fear or flattery, or respect of persons, having before their eyes the divine laws, both of the Old and New Testament, applicable to the present case, the sacred writings of the Gospel and of the Apostles, as well as the canons and decrees of Councils, the authority of the venerable Fathers and Doctors of the Church; besides the additional light received from the sentiments of the Archbishops and Clergy assembled at Peterburgh by order of his Czarish Majesty, a duplicate of which is hereunto annexed, and conforming themselves to the general law of all Russia, and particularly to the constitutions of this Empire, to the military laws and statutes which correspond with the laws of many other states, especially those of the antient Greek and Roman Emperors, and of different Christian Princes; we the underwritten, having put the case to the vote, unanimously, and without any contradiction, agree, and do hereby resolve, "That the Czarowitz, Alexis Petrowitz, deserves death, for his many capital crimes and offences against his Sovereign and his Father, being the son and subject of his Czarish Majesty:" so that, although his Czarish Majesty, in a letter sent to the Czarowitz by M. Tolstoy, a Member of the Privy Council, and Captain Romanzoff, dated from Spa, the 10th of July, 1717, promised that he would forgive his elopement on his returning of his own accord and willingly, as the Czarowitz himself, with thanks, acknowledged in his answer to that letter, written at Naples the 4th of October, 1717; wherein he
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“ As you received your pardon yesterday on condition
 “ that you should declare all the circumstances of your
 “ elopement, and whatever relates thereto; but that
 “ if you concealed any thing, you should be deprived
 “ of life; and as you have already made some verbal

“ declarations, you are ordered, as a fuller satisfaction,
 “ and that you may be acquitted, to set them down in
 “ writing, according to the articles specified underneath.”

And at the conclusion, in the 7th article, his Czarish Majesty had again written with his own hand :

“ Declare every thing relative to this affair, though
 “ not mentioned here, and clear yourself as you
 “ would in holy confession ; but if you hide or con-
 “ ceal any thing which may hereafter come to light,
 “ do not blame me for the consequence ; for it was
 “ yesterday publicly declared to you, that in such
 “ case, the pardon you have received would be null and
 “ revoked.” Notwithstanding this, the Czarowitz, in his answers and confessions, has observed no manner of sincerity : he has not only concealed many persons, but capital transactions and offences ; and particularly his rebellious designs against his father and his lord, and the unnatural contrivances he has long been carrying on for usurping his father's throne during his life, by different wicked methods, and under evil pretences ; grounding his hope and his wishes for the death of his father and lord on the lower sort of people's declaring in his favour.

All this has been since discovered by legal informations, after he himself had refused to make any such declarations, as appeared above.

Thus by the whole behaviour of the Czarowitz, and by his declarations both verbal and written, and lastly, by that of the 22d of last June, it is evident that he would not stay till the succession to the crown should come to him, after his father's decease, in the manner that his father would have left it to him, agreeable to equity, and by those ways and means which God has prescribed ; but that he has wished for it, and had formed a design of seizing on it, even during the life of his father and lord, by opposing in every thing his father's will ; and not only by the rising of the rebellious subjects he relied on, but by the assistance of a foreign army, which he flattered himself to have at his disposal, and to be purchased even at the ruin of the State, and the

the alienation of every thing which might have been required of the State for such assistance.

The above-mentioned circumstances plainly shew, that the Czarowitz, in concealing all his pernicious designs, and secreting many persons who acted in concert with him, as he continued to do till the last examination, and till he was fully convicted of all his machinations, intended to reserve to himself, on any opportunity, means of resuming his designs, and thoroughly to put in execution this horrible attempt against his father and his lord, and against all this Empire.

He has thereby rendered himself unworthy of the clemency and pardon which his lord and father had promised him. He has also himself acknowledged, both before his Czarish Majesty and all the State, ecclesiastical and civil, and publicly before the whole assembly; and he has also, both verbally and in writing, declared before the underwritten Judges, appointed by his Czarish Majesty, that all the premises were true and manifest, by such effects as had appeared.

Therefore, as the before-mentioned laws, divine and ecclesiastical, civil and military, and particularly the two latter, condemn to death, without mercy, not only those whose attempts against their father and lord have been manifested by evidences, or proved by writings, but even those whose attempts extend no farther than a rebellious intention, or formation of a design to kill their sovereign, or seize on the Empire; what can be thought of a rebellious design, such as scarcely has ever been heard of in the world, added to the horror of a twofold parricide against his Sovereign, first as his political father, and then as his natural father (a most indulgent father, by whom the Czarowitz has from his cradle been brought up with every paternal care, with a tenderness and indulgence which have appeared on all occasions; who, with incredible pains, and unwearyed application, has endeavoured to form him for government, and instruct him in the art of war, that he might be worthy of the succession, and capable of ruling over so
great

great an Empire;) how much more then does such a design merit the punishment of death?

It is with afflicted hearts, and eyes full of tears, that we, as servants and subjects, pronounce this sentence; seeing that, as such, it does not belong to us to take cognizance of so momentous a concern, and especially to pronounce a sentence against the son of our Sovereign, and most bountiful Lord, the Czar. However, it being his will that we should pass our judgment, we by these presents declare our real opinion; and we pronounce this condemnation with a clear and Christian conscience, as we shall answer for it before the tremendous and impartial tribunal of God; submitting withal this sentence and condemnation to the supreme power, will, and merciful revision, of his Czarish Majesty, our most gracious Monarch.

PEACE of NEUSTADT.

IN the Name of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity. Be it known by these presents, that whereas a long, bloody, and burdensome war has for several years been carried on between his late Majesty Charles XII. of glorious memory, King of Sweden, of the Goths and Vandals, &c. his successor to the throne of Sweden, Lady Ulrica, Queen of Sweden, of the Goths and Vandals, &c. and the Kingdom of Sweden, on the one part; and between his Czarish Majesty, Peter I. Emperor of All the Russias, and the Empire of Russia, on the other part; both parties have thought fit to consult on means for putting an end to these troubles, and, consequently, to the effusion of so much innocent blood: and it has pleased Divine Providence to incline the minds of both parties to cause their Plenipotentiaries to meet, in order to treat of and conclude a sincere, firm, and lasting peace, and an eternal friendship between the two States, their

their provinces, countries, vassals, subjects, and inhabitants; namely, John Liliensted, Counsellor to his Majesty the King of Sweden, and to his Kingdom and Chancery, and Baron Otto Reinhold Stroemfield, Director of the Copper-Mines, and of the Territory of Dalders, on the part of his said Majesty; and on the part of his Czarish Majesty, Count Jacob Daniel Bruce, his Aid de-Camp, General, President of the Colleges of Minerals and Manufactures, and Knight of the Order of St. Andrew and the White Eagle, and Henry John Frederic Osterman, Privy-Counsellor to his Czarish Majesty: and the said Ministers Plenipotentiaries, being met at Neustadt, have exchanged their powers; and after imploring the Divine assistance, they have set about this important and most salutary work; and through God's grace and blessing, they have concluded the following peace between the Crown of Sweden and his Czarish Majesty.

ART. I. There shall be from the present time, and for ever, an inviolable peace by sea and land, also a sincere union and indissoluble friendship, between his Majesty Frederic I. King of Sweden, of the Goths and Vandals, his successors to the Crown and Kingdom of Sweden, his dominions, provinces, countries, towns, vassals, subjects, and inhabitants, as well within the Roman Empire as without the said Empire, on one part; and his Czarish Majesty, Peter I. Emperor of All the Russias, &c. and his successors to the throne of Russia, and all his countries, towns, vassals, subjects, and inhabitants, on the other part: so that for the future, the said two parties shall not commit, or allow to be committed, any hostility, secretly or publicly, directly or indirectly, either by their own people or others; neither shall they give any assistance to the enemies of either of the two parties, under any pretence whatever, and shall not contract with them any alliance contrary to this peace; but shall ever keep up a sincere friendship with each other, and shall endeavour reciprocally to maintain the honour, advantage, and security of each;
also

also as far as shall lie in their power, to avert any damages or troubles with which either of the two parties may be threatened by any other Power.

II. There shall likewise be, on both sides, a general amnesty of the hostilities committed during the war; whether by arms or otherwise, that they shall never be remembered or revenged; particularly with regard to all persons in offices, and subjects of any nation whatever, who, during the war, have entered into the service of either of the two parties, and who in so doing have become enemies to the other party, excepting the Russian Cossacks who have gone over into the service of the King of Sweden; his Czarish Majesty not being willing to allow that they should be included in this general amnesty, notwithstanding all the instances of the King of Sweden in their behalf.

III. All hostilities, both by sea and land, shall cease here, and in the Great Dutchy of Finland, within fifteen days or sooner, if possible, after the signature of this peace; but in other places, within three weeks or sooner, if possible, after the necessary exchanges on both sides: in order to this, the conclusion of the peace shall immediately be made public; and in case hostilities of any kind should be committed by sea or land, on either side, from an ignorance of the peace being concluded, that shall not in the least affect the conclusion of this peace; and both men and effects taken or carried away after that term, are to be restored.

IV. His Majesty the King of Sweden, by these presents, both for himself and his successors to the Throne and Kingdom of Sweden, cedes to his Czarish Majesty, and his successors to the Empire of Russia, in full, irrevocable, and eternal possession, the provinces which have been conquered and taken in this war by his Czarish Majesty's arms from the Crown of Sweden, viz. Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, and part of Carelia; as also the district of the fief of Wiburg, specified underneath in the article for settling the limits; the towns and fortresses of Riga, Dunamunde, Pernau, Revel, Dorpt, Nerva, Wiburg, Kexholm, with the other towns and fortresses,

fortresses, harbours, places, districts, coasts, and shores belonging to the said Provinces; as also the islands of Oesel, Dagoe, Moen, and all the other islands from the frontiers of Courland along the coasts of Livonia, Esthonia, and Ingria, and eastward of Revel on the sea which runs to Wiburg towards the south and east; with all the inhabitants dwelling in those islands, and in the above-mentioned provinces, towns, and places; and all their appurtenances, dependences, prerogatives, rights, and emoluments, without any exception, as they were possessed by the Crown of Sweden.

Accordingly his Majesty the King of Sweden, for ever, and in the most solemn manner, renounces both for himself and his successors, and for the whole Kingdom of Sweden, all pretensions which they ever had, or may have, to the said provinces, islands, countries, and places, and of which all the inhabitants are by these presents discharged from the oath they have taken to the Crown of Sweden; so that from this time his Majesty and the Kingdom of Sweden shall no longer have any claim to them, nor even require them again, under any pretence whatever; but they shall be, and ever remain incorporated with the Russian Empire: and his Majesty and the Kingdom of Sweden, by these presents, engage to leave and maintain for ever his Czarish Majesty, and his successors to the Empire of Russia, in the peaceable possession of the said provinces, islands, countries, and places; and search shall be made for all records and papers principally relating to those countries which have been removed into Sweden during the war; and they shall be delivered to such persons as shall be authorized by his Czarish Majesty to receive them.

V. His Czarish Majesty engages, and promises in exchange to restore and evacuate to his Majesty and the Crown of Sweden, within the term of four weeks after the exchange of the ratification of the treaty of peace, or sooner, if it be possible, the Great Dutchy of Finland, except the part reserved underneath in the settlement of the limits which shall belong to his Czarish Majesty; so that his Czarish Majesty and his successors shall nei-

ther have nor make any claim to the said Dutchy on any pretence whatsoever. Farther, his Czarish Majesty binds himself, and promises to cause to be paid speedily, assuredly, and without any deduction, the sum of two millions of crowns to the Commissioners appointed by the King of Sweden, on their producing and giving valid receipts, at the fixed terms, and in such sorts of specie, agreed on in a separate article, which is equally of the same force as if inserted here word for word.

VI. The King of Sweden has also reserved to himself, with regard to commerce, a perpetual permission of causing grain to be annually bought at Riga, Revel, and Arensburgh, to the amount of fifty thousand rubles; which grain shall be exported from the said places to Sweden, without paying any sort of duty, on a certificate's being produced, proving that the said grain has been bought on his Swedish Majesty's account, or by persons commissioned by his Swedish Majesty for such purchase; which however is not to be understood of such years, when, through the failure of harvest, or for any other important cause, his Czarish Majesty shall be under a necessity of prohibiting the exportation of grain to any country whatever.

VII. His Czarish Majesty also engages, in the most solemn manner, that he will not interfere in the domestic concerns of the Kingdom of Sweden, nor with the form of government which has been settled and established by oath, and the unanimous assent of the States of the said Kingdom; that he will in no wise, neither directly nor indirectly, assist any person or persons whatever, but will endeavour to prevent and hinder any thing contrary thereto, provided it comes to the knowledge of his Czarish Majesty; thus giving evident marks of his sincere friendship, and of his desire to be a good neighbour.

VIII. And as it is the intention of both parties to make a firm, sincere, and lasting peace; and it being very necessary, in order thereto, to settle and determine the limits in such a manner that neither of the two parties may give umbrage to the other, but each

each peaceably possess what has been ceded to him by this treaty of peace; they have been pleased to declare, that from this time, and for ever, the two Empires shall have the following limits, which begin on the north side of the Sinus Finicus, near Wickolax; from whence they extend to within half a league of the sea-shore up the country, and to the distance of half a league of the sea, till facing Willayoki, and thence further up the country; so that from the side towards the sea opposite to Rohall, there shall be a distance of three quarters of a league in a diametrical line, to the road going from Wiburg to Lapstrand, at the distance of three leagues from Wiburg, and which, in the same difference of three leagues, goes northward through Wiburg, in a diametrical line, as far as the ancient limits between Russia and Sweden, before the reduction of Kexholm fief under the dominion of Sweden. These ancient limits are eight leagues in extent northward; thence in a diametrical line they cross Kexholm fief, to the place where the sea of Porogeroi, which begins near the village of Kudumagube, touches the ancient limits between Russia and Sweden; so that his Majesty the King and Kingdom of Sweden shall for ever possess all the country lying east and north of the specified limits; and his Czarish Majesty and the Empire of Russia shall for ever possess all the country east and south on this side those limits. And as his Czarish Majesty thus absolutely cedes to the King and Kingdom of Sweden a part of Kexholm fief which formerly belonged to the Empire of Russia, he promises in the most solemn manner, for himself and his successors to the throne of Russia, that he neither will, or can ever reclaim this part of Kexholm fief under any pretence whatsoever; but the said part shall be, and for ever remain incorporated with the Kingdom of Sweden. As to the limits in the countries of the Lapmarks, they shall remain on the same footing as they were before the beginning of this war between the two Empires. It is farther agreed that, immediately after the ratification of the principal treaty, Commissaries shall be appointed

on

on each side, to settle the limits in the manner above-mentioned.

IX. His Czarish Majesty likewise engages to maintain all the inhabitants of the provinces of Livonia, Esthonia, and Oesel, nobles or plebeians, towns, magistrates, and trading companies, in the entire enjoyment of the privileges, customs, and prerogatives, which they enjoyed under the dominion of the King of Sweden.

X. In the countries that have been ceded, there shall be no restraint of conscience, but the evangelical religion, together with the churches, schools, and other appurtenances, shall be continued on the same footing they were when under the dominion of Sweden, on condition that the free exercise of the Greek religion be also admitted there.

XI. As to the reduction and liquidation made in the time of the Regency appointed by the King of Sweden, in Livonia, Esthonia, and Oesel, to the great damage of the subjects and inhabitants of that country (which, together with the equity of the affair itself, induced the late King of Sweden, of glorious memory, to give a formal assurance in a proclamation published the 13th of April, 1700, "that if any of his subjects could truly "prove any of the lands confiscated to be theirs, justice "should be done to them;" and accordingly, many subjects of the said countries were restored to the possession of their lands, which had been confiscated) his Czarish Majesty engages and promises likewise that justice shall be done to every one, whether living in or out of the country, who has a just claim on lands in Livonia, Esthonia, or in the province of Oesel, and can duly make it appear, so that they shall be restored to the possession of their goods or lands.

XII. In conformity to the amnesty granted and settled above in the second Article, restitution shall immediately be made to the inhabitants of Livonia, Esthonia, and the Island of Oesel, who in this war have sided with the King of Sweden, of all the goods, lands, and houses, which have been confiscated and given to others, both in the towns of those provinces, and those of
Nerva

Nerva and Wiburg, whether devolved to them during the war by inheritance or otherwise, without any exception or restriction; whether the proprietors be at present in Sweden, or in prison, or elsewhere, every one having first proved his claim before the Government, by producing the vouchers of such right: but these proprietors shall not have any claim to the revenues which have been levied by others during this war, and since the confiscation, nor any compensation for what they have suffered by war or otherwise. They who are thus restored to the possessions of their goods or lands, shall be obliged to do homage to his Czarish Majesty, who from this time is their sovereign, and to behave in every respect as faithful vassals and subjects: after they shall have taken the usual oath, they shall be allowed to leave the country, and live elsewhere, among any of the friends and allies of the Russian Empire, and to enter into the service of neutral powers, or to continue in it, if they are already engaged in such service, according as they shall think fit. But as to those who will not do homage to his Czarish Majesty, they shall be allowed three years after the publication of the peace, to sell their goods, lands, and whatever belongs to them in the best manner they shall be able, without paying more than what by the ordinances and statutes of the country every one is to pay. In case any inheritance shall hereafter, according to the laws of the country, devolve to any one, and that he has not taken the oath of fidelity to his Czarish Majesty, he shall be obliged to take such oath, at his taking possession of such inheritance, or to dispose of it in the space of a year.

In the same manner, they who have advanced money on lands lying in Livonia, Esthonia, and the Isle of Oesel, and who, in consideration thereof, have received legal obligations, shall peaceably enjoy their mortgages till they are paid both capital and interest; but these mortgages shall not have any claim to interests become due during the war, and which perhaps are not raised: but they who in either case have the ma-

nagement of the said lands, shall be obliged to do homage to his Czarish Majesty. All this is likewise to be understood of those who remain under the dominion of his Czarish Majesty, and who shall have the same liberty to dispose of their lands and effects in Sweden, and the countries ceded to Sweden by this peace. Farther, the subjects of the two parties now entering on a peace, who have just claims in the countries of the two powers, whether on the public or private persons, shall have speedy justice done them, so that every one shall be placed and replaced in possession of what rightfully belongs to him.

XIII. All contributions in money in the Great Dutchy of Finland shall cease, that Dutchy, according to Article V. being restored by his Czarish Majesty to the King of Sweden, reckoning from the date of signing this treaty; but the provisions and forages necessary to his Czarish Majesty's troops shall be there furnished gratis, till the said Dutchy be totally evacuated, on the same footing as has hitherto been practised: and it shall be forbidden and prohibited, under very severe penalties, to carry off at their departure any ministers or peasants of Finland against their will, or to do them any hurt or damage. Farther, all the fortresses and castles of Finland shall be left in the same condition they are in at present; but his Czarish Majesty, on evacuating the said country and places, shall be allowed to carry away all the great and small cannon, and their implements, together with the magazines and all military stores whatever which his Czarish Majesty had sent thither. For this, and the removal of the army's baggage, the inhabitants shall furnish the necessary horses and carriages, as far as the frontiers, gratis: even if this cannot be executed within the term stipulated, and there shall be a necessity of leaving a part behind, it shall be carefully kept, and afterwards delivered up at any time to such persons as shall be authorized by his Czarish Majesty; and the said part shall be carried, as above, to the frontiers. In case the troops of his Czarish Majesty have found and sent out of the country

*ORDINANCE of the Emperor PETER I. for
the Coronation of the Empress CATHARINE.*

WE PETER I. Emperor and sole Monarch of All the Russias, &c. to all ecclesiastics, civil and military officers, and others of the Russian nation, our faithful subjects. It is universally known to have been the constant and perpetual established custom in all Christian countries. for sovereigns to cause their consorts to be crowned, as is practised at present, and was several times in former ages by the Emperors of the orthodox Grecian faith; namely, the Emperor Basilides, who caused his consort Zenobia to be crowned; the Emperor Justin an, his consort Lupicina; the Emperor Heraclius, his consort Martinia; the Emperor Leo the Philosopher, his consort Maria; and several others, who have likewise caused the Imperial crown to be put on the heads of their consorts; but whom we shall make no mention of here, as that would carry us too far.

It is also well known how far we have exposed our own person, and faced the greatest dangers in our country's cause, during the whole of a war of twenty-one years successively, which, by God's assistance, we have terminated with such honour and advantage, that Russia never saw a like peace, nor gained that glory which has accrued to it by this war. The Empress Catharine, our dearly beloved consort, was of great help to us in all these dangers, not only in the said war, but likewise in other expeditions; in which, notwithstanding the natural weakness of her sex, she voluntarily accompanied us, and greatly assisted us with her advice, particularly at the battle of the river Pruth against the Turks,
where

where our army was reduced to twenty-two thousand men, when that of the Turks consisted of two hundred and seventy thousand. It was in this desperate situation that she eminently displayed a zeal and fortitude superior to her sex; and to this, all the army and the whole Empire can bear witness. For these reasons, and in virtue of the power which God hath given us, we have resolved, in acknowledgment of all her fatigues and good offices, to honour our consort with the Imperial crown, which, by God's permission, shall be accomplished this winter at Moscow: and of this resolution we hereby give notice to all our faithful subjects, towards whom our Imperial affection is unalterable.

(THE END.



